

*Porcelain*

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*and the Dutch*

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*China trade*

*C.J.A. Jörg*

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*To Eline and Justine*

Authorised translation from the Dutch by Patricia Wardle. Originally published as *Porselein als handelswaar*, Groningen 1978.

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## Contents

<i>Foreword by T. Volker</i>	7	<i>Chapter III</i>	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	8	The porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company	91
<i>Introduction</i>	11	1 The porcelain trade up to 1729	91
		2 The porcelain trade with China, 1729–95	94
		a ‘Requirements’ and instructions, samples, models and drawings	94
		b The buying-in and ordering of porcelain	112
		c The manufacture, transport and painting of porcelain	122
		d Packing and stowage	128
		e The sales in the Netherlands	130
		f Porcelain for Batavia and the ‘out-lying factories’	135
		g Porcelain of and for private individuals	140
<i>Chapter I</i>		<i>Chapter IV</i>	
The China trade of the Dutch East India Company	15	The porcelain	148
1 The seventeenth century	15	1 Introduction	148
2 The direct trade, 1729–34	21	2 The decorations	154
3 The China trade under Batavia, 1735–56	27	3 The types of porcelain	161
4 The direct trade, 1757–95	34		
		<i>Conclusions</i>	193
<i>Chapter II</i>			
Life and trade in Canton	46		
1 Introduction	46		
2 The ships	47		
3 The factory building	54		
4 Daily life	61		
5 Relations with Chinese merchants and mandarins	66		
6 Trade and merchandise	73		



## *Appendices*

1 Dutch East India Company ships in Canton, 1729–95	195
2 Dutch East India Company personnel in Canton, 1729–94	202
3 Inventory of the Factory in 1755	205
4 Financial survey of the trade in Canton and the profits on the return shipments in the Netherlands, 1729–34	207
5 Financial survey of the trade in Canton, 1736–56	209
6 Gross profits on the return cargos shipped direct to the Netherlands from Canton, 1729–92.	211
7 Comparison of the proceeds on the sales of the return shipments from China with the total proceeds on the Company's sales, 1730–90	215
8 Specification of the return shipments from Canton for the Netherlands, 1729–93, in guilders and percentages	217
9 Gross profits on porcelain shipped direct to the Netherlands, 1729–93	221
10 Gross profits on porcelain shipped to the Netherlands via Batavia, 1735–48	224
11 Porcelain shipped to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company, 1729–93: a survey of types and decorations.	225

<i>Literature</i>	307
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<i>Documents</i>	315
------------------	-----

<i>Notes</i>	318
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<i>Credits</i>	364
----------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	365
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## Foreword

Shortly after my book *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* was published in 1954 and well received, somebody prompted me to continue my research and publish something about the Japanese porcelain trade. I gave in, and *The Japanese porcelain trade after 1683* appeared. In his *Japanese Porcelain* my good friend, the late Soame Jenyns, confessed to the prompting. But, never easily satisfied when he had set his mind on a thing, he insisted on my continuing the work and publishing what I could find about the Chinese porcelain trade of the Dutch after 1683. This time I had to refuse, which I did very reluctantly because I knew how extremely interesting the research would be, how little was known about the trade after 1683 and how welcome the results would be to everyone interested in Chinese porcelain and its history. But I had reached the age of 65 and was pensioned off.

But then, some years ago, a small miracle occurred. A very much younger man, Christiaan J. A. Jörg of Leiden University, told me he was interested in the subject. He came to visit

me and we discussed it. As it was his intention to write about this matter, he did not in the least need any prompting or urging from me and all the merit his work has – and I think he has done splendid work with admirable results – is exclusively his own.

From experience I know the ups and downs of the research preceding the making of a book like this, the disappointments one has when not finding a thing one had expected to find, the greater satisfaction when one comes across an unexpected interesting thing. And when the facts are marshalled and grouped in the intended order and the book is ready for publication, then one sits back and hopes that the book will be well received. In Dr. Jörg's case – he got his Ph.D. degree with this book – I am sure it will be well received for its merits: intensive research work admirably done, resulting in a much needed good book on the later Chinese porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company.

*T. Volker*

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## Acknowledgements

In November 1978 I defended my thesis *Porselein als Handelswaar* as an art historian at the University of Leiden. It was published privately in a limited edition of 250 copies, which were not available commercially. However, a wider public than colleagues and specialists in the field of Oriental ceramics proved to be interested in the subject and I am particularly pleased that it has been possible to meet this interest with this commercial edition in English. I have made use of the opportunity of adapting and extending the text of the thesis, partly on the basis of reactions from outside, partly on that of continuing research, and it has also been possible to make a considerable increase in the number of illustrations.

In the preparation of both the thesis and this publication I have received help from many people in both words and deeds, for which I heartily thank all of them. Without wishing to be discourteous to anyone, I would like to mention a few of them by name. First and foremost my supervisors, Professor T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Professor M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs., who were my teachers in the true sense of the word. I am very grateful to them for the training they gave me in academic discipline and for their warm interest in me and my work.

Then I would like to thank Dr. T. Volker,

the pioneer in the field of my study, with whom I had the privilege of engaging in many discussions. Shortly before his death in 1979 he offered to write the foreword to this edition.

The staff of the first department of the National Archives in The Hague, in particular G. W. van der Meiden, Dr. M. E. van Opstall and Sierk Plantinga, have given me all possible assistance in my research and their interest was and is most stimulating.

In addition, I would like to thank D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, the Nestor in the field of Oriental ceramics in the Netherlands, to whose knowledge I have never made an appeal in vain.

In various museums and institutes I was helped by the furnishing of information or in other ways and here particular thanks are due to Dr. Barbara Harrisson of the Prinsessehof in Leeuwarden, B. Westers of the Gemeente Museum in The Hague, A. L. den Blaauwen of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Dr. O. R. Impey of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and Professor O. Oba of the Kansai University in Osaka.

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est and showed understanding of my ups and downs. A special word of thanks is due also to Patricia Wardle, who has succeeded in rendering my thoughts in English in such a creative manner.

Finally, I thank my wife, who over the past years has been my shield and support in this too.

Groningen, February 1981

*Christiaan Jörg*

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*Abbreviations used in the notes*

Arch.	Archive of the Dutch factory at Canton, National Archives, The Hague.
Bijdragen	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en T.L.V.
T.L.V.	Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.
M.N.V.Z.	Mededelingen van de Nederlandse Vereniging voor Zeegeschiedenis.
M.V.N.C.	Mededelingenblad Vrienden van de Nederlandse Ceramiek.
N.K.J.	Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek.
R.G.P.	Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën (Grote Serie).
T.O.C.S.	Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society.
V.O.C.	V.O.C. archive, National Archives, The Hague.
W.L.V.	Werken Linschoten Vereniging.

The spelling used for proper names, including Chinese names, are those most frequently found in the records.

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## Introduction

*Chine de Commande* is the term commonly used at present to denote Chinese porcelain which was made to order and of which the forms and/or the decoration are borrowed from European models.<sup>1</sup> This distinguishes it from the porcelain which was bought in China by the Europeans as an article of commerce, but which is entirely Chinese in form and decoration. Both categories belong to the comprehensive group of Chinese export porcelain, which includes all the porcelain that was exported from China.<sup>2</sup>

Initially the export porcelain made for the European market and shipped by the various trading companies was the only type of Chinese porcelain known in the West. Thus it naturally occupied an important place in the 19th- and early 20th-century handbooks on Chinese ceramics, in which the *Chine de Commande* subdivision had not yet been made, and it was only relatively late that separate studies on this topic started to appear. Apart from one or two books on armorial porcelain for the English market, which were more concerned with the heraldry than the *Chine de Commande*,<sup>3</sup> interest in this subject gradually got under way primarily in the Netherlands. J. de Hullu wrote his article on the porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company and Cornelis Pronk as the Company's draughtsman as early as 1915.<sup>4</sup> The importance of this article cannot be overestimated, for it

revealed for the first time that European source material, in this case the archives of the Dutch East India Company, contained information that could be linked with Chinese ceramics. De Hullu's merit lay in his demonstrating that this information could be used not only to date Chinese porcelain more satisfactorily, but also to give a general survey of the circumstances under which porcelain was bought in China and was of importance to the East India Company as merchandise.

In 1923 appeared *Porselein* by I.G.A.N. de Vries and he too quoted from the East India Company's records in order to document the pieces of *Chine de Commande* that he discussed.<sup>5</sup> The following year H. E. van Gelder published an article in which he brought together information of a less incidental character relating to the porcelain trade of the East India Company in the first half of the 17th century<sup>6</sup> and after that a more specific interest in *Chine de Commande* arose elsewhere as well. From 1928 onwards H. E. Keyes focused attention on various aspects of the subject in a series of articles for the periodical *Antiques*,<sup>7</sup> while J. A. Lloyd Hyde published his *Oriental Lowestoft* in 1936.<sup>8</sup>

Not until recently, however, has a growth in interest led to a larger number of publications. In 1954 appeared *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company* by T. Volker who, like De Hullu

and Van Gelder approached export porcelain as an article of commerce.<sup>9</sup> On the basis of collected source material he gave a survey of the East India Company's trade in porcelain with China in the 17th century and arrived at a more exact attribution and dating of export porcelain of that period. In 1959 he published *The Japanese porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683*, which deals with the porcelain trade with Japan in exactly the same way.<sup>10</sup> Curiously enough, although his books are highly valued and widely quoted as basic material, his approach found few followers, even though the necessary material is available, in the archives of other Companies too, especially for the 18th century. In the studies published between 1954 and the present day, which discuss the export porcelain for the European and American markets in detail, a different method is adopted by the authors.<sup>11</sup> They generally give a short survey of the history of export porcelain for the West and of the circumstances under which it was made and handled in China and then proceed to a chronological and stylistic study based on the surviving pieces.

Van Gelder and Volker dealt only with the porcelain trade with China in the 17th century. This study follows in their footsteps, giving in a way similar to theirs a picture of the porcelain trade in the 18th century and the porcelain concerned in it. This makes it possible to follow the porcelain trade throughout the whole of the Dutch East India Company's existence.

Following what has gradually become a Dutch tradition, the Dutch East India Company archives have been used as a basis here too. These are much more comprehensive in this field for the 18th century than for the 17th. Moreover, for the first time all the sources have been systematically studied. In view of the space available and the vast amount of information, therefore, any attempt to quote the information *in extenso* had to be abandoned, in contrast to what Van Gelder and Volker did.

Instead a more or less chronological survey is given, in which the relevant information is worked into a monograph. The facts known from the literature are used only as supporting material here, since the primary aim was to bring forward new factual evidence of importance for the study as a whole, which would make it possible to gain a new insight.

Obviously such a study also has its limitations. The merchants wrote only about matters that bore a more or less direct relation to the trade, while much that was clear to contemporaries without further explanation is now problematical.

The porcelain trade was just a part of the Company's total trade with China and it must thus be placed within that economic and historical context. Only then can answers be given to such questions as to how the supply of and demand for porcelain were harmonized with each other, why certain sorts were bought in and others not, why fluctuations occurred or what the significance of porcelain was as an article of commerce.

Curiously enough, the China trade in the 18th century has hardly attracted any attention up to now, in contrast to the China trade of the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century or its trade with Japan. Thus the available literature is not extensive. The most informative publications are two articles by J. de Hullu of 1917 and 1923, which are mainly concerned with the organization of this trade up to 1756.<sup>12</sup> An article by H. P. N. Muller gives a summary historical survey of Dutch relations with China.<sup>13</sup> Subsidiary themes are dealt with in some articles, while in addition incidental information about the China trade is to be found in studies and publications of source material relating to the Dutch East India Company in general. In K. Glamann's *Dutch-Asiatic trade* the China trade is discussed in connection with the tea trade, but the focus is mainly on the period before 1730.<sup>14</sup> C. van der Oudermeulen

gives some financial data concerning the period 1770–80 in his disquisition on the decline of the Company,<sup>15</sup> while the *Memorieboek van de Pakhuismeesteren van de thee* is of importance for the history of the tea trade.<sup>16</sup>

For the most part, however, this field was still untrodden ground.<sup>17</sup> Thus this study set itself the further aim of giving an insight into the organization of the China trade, both in the Netherlands and in China itself, of the course of the trade during the period 1729–95 and of the goods involved. In addition, an impression is offered of the life lived by the Dutch in China.

It is not the intention to discuss the entire China trade exhaustively here. In the following chapters the most important facts and events are mentioned on the basis of source material and an economic and historical context is constructed for the porcelain trade, which can be worked out in still more detail by subsequent research. Thus comparisons with the China trade of other Companies are limited and merely indicate a direction which further research could profitably take.<sup>18</sup>

Research was concentrated on the period in which there was direct trade with China,

namely from 1729 to 1795. The records relating to this are housed in the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (National Archives) in The Hague. The most important documents are to be found in the Dutch East India Company archives (*V.O.C. archief*) and the archives of the factory at Canton. A large part of these records consists of coherent series and, relatively speaking, only a few documents are missing. Not only are the papers of the *Heeren XVII* and the correspondence between the Netherlands, Batavia and Canton preserved there, but also documents about financial affairs, the buying in and selling of goods and legal matters, journals, trade reports, bills of lading, etc. Supplementary information is to be found in various other archives. A survey of the documents used is included in the bibliography (pp. 307). Taken together all these documents constitute a goldmine of information about the China trade of the Dutch East India Company and about the conditions of trade and the way of life of the Dutch in Canton. Their very varied character makes it possible to use them for scholarly studies of many different kinds and to evaluate the information they contain from different angles.



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# I The China trade of the Dutch East India Company

## 1 *The seventeenth century*

‘No sooner had this Company been established than it began to cast an eye on the trade with China...’ With these words the chronicler of the Dutch East India Company, the advocate Pieter van Dam, begins his chapter on China in his ‘Description of the East India Company’ and he rightly goes on to point out that the principal reason for this interest was the prospect of the great profits that could be made in Europe on Chinese products.<sup>1</sup>

Already in the 16th century there existed a great interest in Chinese and other Asiatic products – often denoted by the generic name ‘Indian’ – especially among the steadily growing group of rich burghers and art collectors, who could and would pay high prices for such status-enhancing luxury and exotic objects as Chinese silks, porcelain and lacquer, things that in previous centuries had belonged exclusively to royalty and dignitaries.<sup>2</sup> Imports of them were, however, scarce, since the Portuguese did little to meet this demand, regarding the Chinese commercial products as more suitable for their inter-Asiatic trade, especially the intermediate trade between China and Japan.<sup>3</sup> Even after Portugal – the only European country to do so – had secured a permanent foothold on the Chinese mainland in Macao in 1557, and the

incidental and very difficult contacts with Chinese merchants had been replaced by a more regular trade, Chinese products still only reached Europe to a limited extent and they were expensive there.<sup>4</sup> They could be bought in Lisbon,<sup>5</sup> at the great annual fairs of Europe<sup>6</sup> and in Antwerp, which acted as a staple for Western Europe for the spices imported by the Portuguese.<sup>7</sup>

The gradual decline of Antwerp as a world market and in particular the closing of the Scheldt in 1585 and the departure of numerous influential merchants in a strong financial position from the Southern to the Northern Netherlands furthered the transferal of the staple to Amsterdam, while at the same time strengthening the development of the towns of Holland and Zeeland into important centres of trade. This also stimulated the plans of several Dutch merchants and shipowners to take part themselves in the importation of Asiatic products, spices in particular. Right from the start the trade with China, the mysterious ‘Cathay’, was an important objective and enormous gains were anticipated from it.<sup>8</sup>

The merchants knew what China had to offer, partly on the basis of verbal information or published records of travels<sup>9</sup>, partly on the basis of their regular traffic with Lisbon, where they had become acquainted with Chinese silks, lac-

quer, porcelain, drugs and other costly items. The Dutch wanted to avoid a direct confrontation with the Portuguese, not only because of the war situation, but also because they did not as yet dare to make any encroachment on the monopoly the Portuguese had on sailing the route round the Cape. Thus in the beginning attempts were made to reach India via a Northern passage, in the hope that this route would be shorter, but this proved a failure. Cornelis Houtman had more success when, in 1595–7, he did try the Southern route round the Cape of Good Hope after all.<sup>10</sup> As a result of his successful voyage a large number of companies were set up within a short time in Holland and Zeeland for trading with the East Indies, all competing fiercely with each other. A ship of the ‘Old Company’ under the command of Jacob van Neck landed on the coast of China in 1601, but it was not possible to trade there.<sup>11</sup> Through the mediation of the Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the good offices of the Stadholder Prince Maurice it was finally brought about in 1602 that the various companies united to form a single organization, the *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (V.O.C.).

Briefly, the organization of the Dutch East India Company was as follows. There were six so-called ‘Chambers’, namely Amsterdam, Middelburg (Zeeland), Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn and Enkhuizen. Financial and administrative matters were regulated according to the percentage held by each Chamber in the original capital stock of around 6½ million guilders: Amsterdam 50%, Zeeland 25% and the other Chambers 6½% each.

The Chambers were represented by 60 directors or governors and each Chamber elected at least once a year its representatives on the board of seventeen directors, the *Heeren Zeventien*. This board comprised eight members for Amsterdam, four for Zeeland and one for each of the other Chambers. The seventeenth place was filled turn and turn about by the Chambers,

with the exception of Amsterdam, which was thus never able to obtain the numerical majority. The *Heeren XVII* formed the central policy-making and administrative organ of the Company and their decisions were binding on the Chambers. Various tasks were divided among the directors and a number of committees and ‘departments’ concerned themselves with the finances, the ship’s companies, the sales etc. The *Haagsch Besogne* was an important committee of the *Heeren XVII*, which read the letters and reports from Asia and drew up the answers.

The regent class had a very great influence on the appointment of new directors and the control the shareholders had through the mouths of the ‘Sworn Principal Shareholders’ did not amount to much. The most important functionary was the ‘advocate’, who conducted the day-to-day management.

The States General had given the Company a charter for the area to the east of the Cape of Good Hope up to the Magellan Straits, so that it acquired a monopoly of the trade in respect of the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic. At the same time a measure of sovereignty was handed over, whereby the Company was empowered to raise armed forces, to build forts and to conclude political agreements. Thanks to this the Company’s trading position was also consolidated politically, and the foundations were laid for the later Dutch rule in the Malay Archipelago.

In Asia Batavia was the staple for the goods handled and the seat of the central government, the *Hoge Regering*, which comprised the Governor General and the Council of the East Indies. This body had far-reaching powers of decision-making, but was ultimately responsible to the *Heeren XVII*. The trade in the various areas was conducted via ‘comptoirs’, local factories.<sup>12</sup>

Among the new directors of the Dutch East India Company, too, there existed a great interest in trade with China, an interest that was stimulated still further in the autumn of 1602,

when the cargo of the *San Jago*, a captured Portuguese carrack, was sold with great profit in Middelburg. This cargo included a large amount of porcelain and other Chinese goods. These goods belonged in part to the Italian traveller Francesco Carletti. It is surprising that this sale has never been linked with Carletti's detailed description of the seizure of the *San Jago* off St. Helena, his stay in Middelburg and the proceedings lasting for years by which he tried, as a Florentine merchant (Tuscany was not, after all, involved in the war between the Netherlands and Spain!), to get compensation for his stolen goods.<sup>13</sup>

Even more spectacular were the sales that took place in 1604, when the cargos of the captured *Catharina* and yet another Portuguese carrack came under the hammer in Amsterdam. These ships had been on their way from Macao to Malacca, fully laden with porcelain, raw silk, silk textiles, gold, lacquer, furniture, sugar, drugs and other Chinese goods. Buyers poured in from far and wide and at the end the proceeds amounted to almost six million guilders!<sup>14</sup>

The trade in the China Sea was largely dominated by the Portuguese and to a lesser extent by the Chinese carriers, who suffered greatly at the hands of pirates and were not, moreover, allowed to trade directly with foreign countries from Chinese ports. The Dutch tried to put an end to the supremacy of the Portuguese, making various attempts to get the supply-lines of Chinese products into their own hands, but they did not succeed in establishing a regular, direct trade with China, a primary prerequisite for fruitful competition. Among the reasons for this were the obstruction of the Portuguese in Macao and the suspicion of the Chinese officials towards these newcomers who were asserting themselves so aggressively in the China Sea.

The Dutch East India Company was, however, able to open a factory at Hirado in Japan in 1609. Japan was an important market for Chinese products, which up to then had been

supplied by the Portuguese. The Company now needed to import these on its own account, while cutting off the flow of goods from the Portuguese. It is in this light that the unsuccessful blockade of Manilla (1619–21) and the attack on Macao (1622) must be seen. After their defeat at Macao, the Dutch occupied the island of Pehoe but in 1624 they were driven out again by the Chinese navy. Diplomatic negotiations finally resulted in nothing being placed in the way of the Dutch when they established themselves on Formosa, which had not yet become a part of the Chinese Empire at that time, while Chinese junks acquired permission to sail to Formosa with all the goods that the Dutch wanted.

This arrangement was a favourable one for the Dutch East India Company. A *status quo* had been arrived at with the Chinese government and a fixed base acquired from which a regular trade could be conducted in Chinese products.

Formosa rapidly developed into an intermediate station in the trade between China and Japan, increasing still further in importance when, in 1639, Japan closed its frontiers to all foreigners, with the exception of the Chinese and the Dutch.

This lucrative state of affairs was upset by political developments in China.<sup>15</sup> In 1644 the Ming Dynasty fell from power and was replaced by the Ch'ing Dynasty of the Manchus. The new Emperor found himself opposed by various insurgent movements which remained loyal to the Ming Dynasty. The rebellion in South China under Cheng Ch'eng Kung, better known as 'Coxinga', was particularly long-lasting and constituted a serious threat. Coxinga managed to build up a naval fighting force with which he dominated the coastal areas and shipping routes, so that the junk traffic to Formosa and the import of goods were seriously impeded. As a result the Dutch merchants on Formosa saw a sharp decline in their profits,

while the trade with Japan began to be endangered as well.

Batavia reacted to these problems by again trying to obtain concessions for direct trade with China – now from the new Manchu government – so as not to be completely dependent on Formosa for supplies. In 1655-6 an embassy was sent to Peking under the leadership of Pieter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyser. They were received with marks of honour, but the only result they were able to obtain was the promise, which almost amounted to an obligation imposed on them, that a further embassy might be sent in 1664.<sup>16</sup>

The disappointment of the *Hoge Regering* was great. But it must be remembered here that they knew nothing of the function or valuation of such an embassy at the Chinese Court, where it was regarded as a tribute or as evidence of the friendship of the rulers of the surrounding countries. The Dutch, on the other hand, thought it possible to negotiate on equal terms and arrive at definite agreements.

During these years difficulties arose on Formosa itself. Numerous refugees found their way there from South China, adherents of Coxinga, who used Formosa as a base for undermining the authority of the Manchus. Great dissatisfaction prevailed among these people on account of the steady rise in taxation and the troubles in the sugar industry, in which many of them had found work. In 1659, when Coxinga was defeated by the Manchu generals at Nanking, he decided to organize further resistance from Formosa. As a result the Dutch East India Company became directly involved in the internal politics of China. Batavia did not respond adequately to the numerous warnings and rumours, failing to send reinforcements until 1661, when it was too late. Coxinga overran the East India Company's settlements on Formosa with an army of 25,000 men and on 1 February 1662 the Dutch were forced to surrender.<sup>17</sup>

The *Hoge Regering*, avid for revenge, saw in an

alliance with the Manchus a chance of breaking Coxinga's power and saving its own face in respect of the *Heeren XVII*. But the alliance was primarily seen as a means of obtaining concessions for the trade with the Chinese coast as a return for lending military support. A combined military action was mounted, but delays in communication and mutual distrust doomed it to failure. The Dutch did, however, succeed from 1663 onwards in trading each year anew at the port of Foochow, but because of the many restrictions, the results failed to come up to expectations. Despite the military aid furnished, the numerous requests and the diplomatic negotiations, there was still no prospect of free, unlimited trade with the Chinese ports. A second embassy sent to Peking from Batavia in 1666-7 under the leadership of Pieter van Hoorn also failed to achieve the slightest result and in 1668 the *Hoge Regering* decided in its disillusionment to stop the trade with Foochow for the time being and to get the Chinese products it wanted via Bantam and Patani.<sup>18</sup>

As a result free burghers of Batavia were in 1669 granted permission to trade with China at their own risk and with their own ships. This private trade, which was concentrated on the islands and coast near Macao, was little more than smuggling or, as people also said at the time, 'going on an embassy to the Emperor'.<sup>19</sup> The Dutch East India Company forbade this private trade in 1678 and once again took the China trade into its own hands, because new possibilities seemed to have arisen. The Company traded first at Foochow and after 1681 at Amoy, Quemoy and Canton. As in previous years there arose misunderstandings and difficulties with Chinese authorities, especially when, in 1685, the Chinese government introduced a new scheme of tolls and taxes, so that profits were diminished still further.

A third embassy to Peking in 1685-7 under Vincent Paets, with the aim of acquiring free trade for the Company and the abolition of

trading restrictions, met with no more success than the two previous attempts.<sup>20</sup> In addition the amount of money Batavia was able to set aside for the China trade steadily decreased, because of her involvement in costly wars on Java. In the decision made in 1689 to give up the China trade the great increase in Chinese junks trading with Batavia was of crucial significance. This junk traffic had begun in 1674 when the Chinese government had eased the prohibition on overseas trade. In 1683, after the incorporation of Formosa in the Chinese Empire and the stabilization of Manchu authority in South China, the trade with Malacca, Manilla. Japan and the Malay Archipelago was completely freed. Trade with China by foreigners was also allowed at that time, although it was limited by a licensing scheme. The junks, which were satisfied with smaller profits and could, above all, carry goods more cheaply than the East India Company, brought all the goods required to Batavia in steadily increasing amounts. The *Hoge Regering* seized the chance of acquiring Chinese products at prices not much higher than those in China, without having to fit out ships of their own or incur any of the risks of the traffic. They encouraged the Chinese merchants to step up their trade with Batavia and put a stop to their own trade as soon as the flow of goods was large enough to enable them to meet the demand for Chinese products in a satisfactory manner.<sup>21</sup>

The only actual competition the Dutch East India Company met with in the 17th century in selling Chinese products in Europe was from the English London Company.<sup>22</sup> Despite their favourable position in Macao and Manilla the Portuguese and the Spaniards were still shipping Chinese wares to Europe virtually exclusively for use within their own borders, while the French and the Danes only fitted out the occasional ship. The English, like the Dutch East India Company, had tried in vain to conduct a direct, regular trade with China and were

obliged to obtain their supplies in Tongking, Bantam, Formosa and other ports in the Malay Archipelago and on the coast of India. They did succeed in trading with Amoy, but the poor quality of the silk, the article most in demand, and the trading restrictions made them abandon this trade in 1689. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1690, it was not until 1699 that the London Company, embroiled in difficulties regarding the extension of its charter, once again had a try at opening direct trade with China in Canton. Circumstances had now become more favourable and the Chinese officials were more ready to let commercial considerations prevail. Like the French ship, the *Amphitrite*, that had appeared at Canton in 1698, the *Macclesfield* too now found little difficulty in buying and selling its cargo. In 1709 the London Company was amalgamated with the English Company, set up in 1698, to form the English East India Company. The new East India Company traded ever more frequently with Canton in the years that followed and interest in trade with other Chinese ports declined on account of the favourable results.

Tea came to form an ever more important part of the return cargo, in consequence of the very rapid rise in demand throughout the whole of Europe, where tea drinking became fashionable at all levels in society.<sup>23</sup> Here the English had the advantage because of their direct trade with Canton. They acquired fresh tea in lead-lined chests, which were shipped direct to London. The Dutch East India Company, by contrast, bought its tea in Batavia from the junks, which offered tea of lesser quality packed in baskets. This mostly consisted of the remains left over after the trading season in Canton. In addition, this tea had to be stored in damp warehouses until the return fleet to the Netherlands was ready, which did not improve its quality. The French trading companies, amalgamated in 1719 to form the *Compagnie Royale des Indes et de la Chine*, made regular sailings to

Canton to take on tea and other goods, just like the English.

The Dutch East India Company's share in the provisioning of the European tea-market was modest to start with. Between 1690 and 1718 fourteen junks per year on average arrived in Batavia and the tea they brought sufficed only for one tea ship for the Netherlands.<sup>24</sup> However, in 1718 the junk traffic with Batavia came to a sudden stop. The reason for this was political unrest in China, which led to a prohibition of overseas trade, and not, as has been suggested, the fixing of the price of tea by the *Hoge Regering*.<sup>25</sup> The disadvantages for Batavia were immediately apparent and some officials suggested that the Batavian government itself should fit out ships to sail to China. The *Hoge Regering* would not entertain this, because it wanted to give the Chinese colony in Batavia a better chance in their attempts to change the minds of the Chinese authorities. To acquire tea, silks, etc. recourse now had to be had to the Portuguese at Macao, who took advantage of the opportunity to bump up their prices.

The *Heeren XVII* manifested extreme displeasure and also pressed Batavia to send one or two ships to Canton itself, since a reduction in tea imports was highly inopportune at that particular moment. The Dutch East India Company had, it seems, been meeting with ever stronger competition from merchants from Ostend, who had been trading with India from 1714 onwards and had also appeared in Canton in 1718.<sup>26</sup> The tea, silk and other products bought there had been brought on to the European markets in great quantities, to the fury of the *Heeren XVII*, and had yielded large profits, especially because of their high quality.<sup>27</sup>

The *Heeren XVII* foresaw a sharp decline in their own share of the market if the Ostend merchants were to continue their China venture. So they evolved plans for eliminating their competitors by an assault on their most important and profitable item, tea. Thus they commissioned

the *Hoge Regering* to buy up as much tea as possible and also to obtain it in China itself.<sup>28</sup> By doing so they hoped not only to upset the balance between supply and demand in Canton and to impede the acquisition of tea by other Companies since Chinese tea production was geared to a certain demand and additional purchases could not quickly lead to a greater supply from the planters. While prices would drop in Europe as a result of a larger supply, tea would become dearer to buy because of its scarcity and the *Heeren XVII* were prepared to put up with a possible loss on tea. Batavia carried out these instructions to the best of its ability, buying up as much tea as possible from the Portuguese for large sums of money, but did not send any ships to Canton. The market was, indeed, speedily flooded, but the Ostend merchants' competitive position was scarcely weakened at all. They had the advantage of rapid transport, lower costs and, above all, tea of a higher quality, which was much in demand, especially in England. They were only too pleased to leave the trade in the less profitable, cheaper sorts to the Dutch East India Company and this poorer tea was soon being hawked around the streets of Amsterdam in barrows. The *Heeren XVII* saw their plan miscarry and pressed Batavia again to sail to Canton itself and buy in better sorts, but the *Hoge Regering* continued to refuse.<sup>29</sup> Events appear to have justified this attitude for after 1722 the junk traffic got under way again and more tea could be shipped to the Netherlands.<sup>30</sup>

In 1722 the Ostend merchants joined together in the Ostend Company, which was granted a charter by the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI. Its market position seemed unassailable and the *Heeren XVII* realized that an economic offensive alone was not sufficient. They managed to convince the States General of the problems and in close cooperation with the English East India Company, which likewise felt itself threatened, diplomatic action was taken at governmental level. In 1726 the Netherlands entered into an

alliance with England, France and Prussia and pressure was brought to bear on Charles VI in concert. This resulted in his promising to suspend the Ostend Company's charter for seven years in 1727. In 1732 the Company was given up, this being one of the conditions on which England and the Netherlands agreed to accept the succession of Charles' daughter, as laid down in the Pragmatic Sanction.

During this diplomatic offensive the *Heeren XVII* had persevered in their tactics of flooding the market, despite the small results. Now that the Ostend Company had been eliminated, they had at all costs to guard against its role being taken over by others. Since the *Hoge Regering* continued to refuse to buy tea of good quality in Canton, the *Heeren XVII* decided at their meeting of 29 October 1727 to send two ships to China directly from the Netherlands. This task they delegated to the Amsterdam Chamber, which had asked to be appointed for it.<sup>31</sup> It was already clear the following year that this had been the right move, for the Danes and the Prussians also wanted to set up companies to trade with China. Not until 1728 did the *Heeren XVII* confront the *Hoge Regering* with the *fait accompli* of direct sailings from the Netherlands to Canton. They did, however, emphasize that it was not the intention to discourage the junk traffic. On the contrary, Batavia must promote this as of old and continue to buy in as much tea as possible.<sup>32</sup> In addition, it was proposed that tea should be planted in Java as another means of 'throwing the European competitors into even greater confusion', but this experiment failed to produce any results at that time.

## 2 *The direct trade, 1729–34*

The preparations for a direct voyage were delegated by the Amsterdam Chamber to the 'Masters of the Warehouse and the Equipages',

under the supervision of the Company's two advocates.<sup>33</sup> In the autumn of 1728 the ships *Coxborn* and *Buuren*, both newly built, were made ready 'to fetch tea and other merchandise'. The *Coxborn* set sail on 3 December, but the *Buuren* was held back by the sudden setting-in of frost and had to remain in port. The voyage of the *Coxborn*, the trade in Canton and the homeward voyage all went well and the cargo brought in a handsome profit.<sup>34</sup>

The Zeeland Chamber, which had no wish to lag behind Amsterdam, asked the *Heeren XVII* in 1730 for permission to join in the China trade with a ship.<sup>35</sup> That same year it fitted out the *Nieuwliet*, in 1731 the *Anna Catharina* and in 1732 the *Nieuwliet* again. Unfortunately the records of the Zeeland Chamber have not been so well preserved as those of Amsterdam. The reports of the supercargos (factors) from Canton are no longer extant, so that only a small amount of information is available about the Zeeland China trade.<sup>36</sup>

In general the procedure at this period was as follows. The *Heeren XVII* decided how many ships would be sent to China and what sums would be given to them in ready money. The fitting out and appointment of the supercargos was done by Zeeland and Amsterdam entirely independently of each other. Each ship was regarded as a separate commercial venture and so on each vessel a first, second and third supercargo was appointed, and often even a fourth as well. Although the supercargos of the various ships did fit in with one another to a certain extent in their buying and selling in China, they were in the first instance responsible for the cargos of their own vessels and there was no question of any supervision over the buying-in as a whole.

For the first voyage of the *Coxborn* a certain Joan de Jongh was appointed, an Amsterdammer who had been in Canton in 1726 on a ship from Ostend and had gained experience of the circumstances under which trade was conduc-

ted in Canton.<sup>37</sup> Willem Sweerts was appointed second supercargo on the *Coxborn*,<sup>38</sup> while Adriaan van Buuren was taken on as first supercargo on the *Buuren*.<sup>39</sup> The names of the supercargos of the direct sailings are to be found in the resolutions of the Zeeland and Amsterdam Chambers and are given in Appendix 2. In appointing the personnel, account was taken of the experience a supercargo had had in the China trade. In 1733 and 1734 in particular supercargos were appointed who had also sailed to China in 1731 and 1732. Zeeland took on no more than three supercargos for each ship, but in their vessels the captain also had control over the trade, so that Gerrit Fiers, captain of the *Nieuwliet* in both 1731 and 1733, is also mentioned in the records as supercargo.<sup>40</sup>

Amsterdam and Zeeland had different scales of remuneration for the supercargos, for which no obvious reasons can be discovered. Thus Amsterdam paid a first supercargo 150 guilders a month, a second 120 guilders, a third 50 guilders and assistants 24 guilders. In Zeeland the salaries were 100 guilders a month for a first supercargo, 75 guilders for a second and 20 guilders for a third or an assistant.<sup>41</sup> The favourable arrangement concerning the 'permitted chests', about which nothing is recorded as regards Zeeland, was probably made by Amsterdam in order to attract specialists in the China trade. This related to the number of chests the supercargos were allowed to take on board privately containing their personal possessions and merchandise. On the outward voyage each supercargo was allowed to take the number of chests allotted to him in accordance with his rank.<sup>42</sup> On the return voyage the supercargos were each allowed five chests, but they then had to give up the amount of 'bottles, lockers and pots' normally permitted, *i.e.* the space made available on board for food and drink for their own use. Anything in excess of the permitted amounts discovered on checking was confiscated as contraband. Both the super-

cargos and the ship's officers and the rest of the crew were strictly forbidden to bring back anything other than tea and porcelain in their chests as merchandise on the return journey.

Since the *Heeren XVII* had forbidden the ships to call at Batavia on the outward voyage, no merchandise for China could be taken on board there either. However, the Netherlands had but few goods to offer that were wanted in China and on which profit could be made. Thus the Dutch were obliged, in imitation of the Ostend merchants, the English and the French, to trade in silver. For this the Dutch East India Company used coined silver in the form of Spanish rials and piastres or *pilaren*.<sup>43</sup> In addition trade was conducted with the sheet lead that was used in Canton to line the insides of the tea chests and also with various kinds of cloth. Curiously enough, rarities such as mirrors, clocks, musical boxes, repeating watches, firearms and other mechanical devices much sought after in China were never used as merchandise by the Dutch East India Company, in contrast to the practice of the English and the French. The exchange of the large mirror from the cabin of the *Voorduijn* in 1733 for twenty chests of Congou tea worth 666 guilders is thus an exceptional case.

The first criticism of the way the China trade was going came from the Rotterdam Chamber, which in the autumn of 1731 made it known that it did not feel capable of taking part in the decision about the sending out of new China ships and the capital to be expended on this, unless some information was provided about the profits on the goods brought back by the *Coxborn*. The financial documents were sent to Rotterdam for perusal and the result was that the *Heeren XVII* decided to send one of the three China ships to Amoy 'in order to test out what trade there might be for the Company to do there'. At the same time an experiment would be made 'with some trifles of indigo, Liège serge or suchlike, in order to see to what



advantage the same might be sold in China'.<sup>44</sup> In the following year, when the results of the sale of the goods brought by the *Duijffe* became known, the criticism increased and the China trade was discussed at length at the meeting of 4 March 1732.

An important point in the discussion was that the financing of the trade with silver was considered disadvantageous, not only because of the loss of interest, but also because the withdrawal of the ready cash meant a heavy drain on the Company's exchequer each time. Another cause for concern were fraudulent practices on the part of the personnel. After the first voyage of the *Coxhorn*, the *Heeren XVII* had received reports from both London and Canton that the first supercargo, Joan de Jongh, had entered the purchases of all the merchandise a good 20% higher in the books, being covered in this by the other supercargos and the ship's officers who had a share in the swindle. The explanations offered by the supercargos on their return were regarded as 'very unsatisfactory' and a letter was sent to the London correspondent asking for further information, but the fraud was difficult to prove and no measures were taken.<sup>45</sup>

In addition, the increasing competition from other European countries in Canton presented a problem. In 1731 a ship of the Danish Company, which had been re-activated in 1728, appeared in the Canton roadstead for the first time and in 1732 the Swedes also came to trade there.<sup>46</sup> The English East India Company was extremely put out on first hearing of the Dutch Company's direct sailings to China. After the common effort to annihilate the Ostend Company it was regarded as dishonest competition on the part of the Dutch Company that it was now trying to acquire the place left open for itself. The English Chief in Canton, Mr. Fazakerley, was thus instructed in 1729 to baulk the Dutch as much as possible.<sup>47</sup> However, after a while it appeared that the sale of Chinese prod-

ucts in Europe did not suffer from the increase in imports, that the production of tea was geared to the rising demand and that the purchase prices showed no abnormal rise.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, the costs of fitting out the ships were running too high in the opinion of the *Heeren XVII* and sending down the profits, the more since no useful cargo for Batavia was carried on the outward journey. The resolutions of the *Heeren XVII* and the Amsterdam Chamber give no further particulars as to the extent that costs were rising, nor do they indicate precisely which costs were in question.

Fortunately, however, there do survive some documents from this period of the direct trade, which make it possible to illustrate the opinions of the *Heeren XVII* with statistical material. A somewhat more detailed discussion of these records can likewise clarify the financial procedures in respect of the China trade.

To get an idea of the profit, the loss and the costs of this trade the *Heeren XVII* made use of the daybooks and ledgers of the Amsterdam Chamber, which did, after all, have the greatest share in it. The direct traffic with China was an experiment and Amsterdam evidently wanted to acquire a clear picture of the costs and profits. All the expenditure and income relating to the voyages were entered separately in the daybook and systematically brought together later in the ledgers under the heading 'Voyage to China'.<sup>49</sup> On the debit side were booked the costs of the 'cargason', the wages of the crew, the costs of fitting out the ships, pilotage, porters' wages and other expenses. On the credit side were included the proceeds from the sales, moneys and goods returned and other income.

Such a specific survey of all the income and expenditure of a single branch of trade over a series of years is unique in the Dutch East India Company's bookkeeping. Kristof Glamann has made use of it in his book *Dutch Asiatic Trade* to show how the 'equipages' for the China voyages were made up and to what extent this in-

fluenced the net gain on tea.<sup>50</sup> He points out that in this special case even the depreciation of the ships was noted as a debit entry, but, alas, he only gives exact figures for one ship, the *Coxhorn*. Since we are concerned here with exceptional statistical material which is available for a specific period and can be of importance for a study of the costs incurred by the Dutch East India Company in fitting out ships in general, the costs of the wear and tear sustained by each ship that sailed to China are given in Table 1. No fixed percentage was written off as regards costs of wear and tear. In the Dutch East India Company a ship was valued on her departure at a certain sum, a new assessment was made on her return and the difference was entered up as 'the wear and tear to ship and masts'. It is notable that the ships used for the China trade were nearly always new ones, which demonstrates that great importance was attached to a safe and speedy voyage. Newly built ships were assessed at a fixed sum on their departure, namely 55,888 guilders for 120-foot ships (160 tons, 85 hands) and 83,000 for 130-foot ships (200 tons, 100 hands). However, it is not clear whether the *Leijduin* (1730) and the *Voorduin* (1732) were assessed on their departure at a lower value than other new ships of the same size. From Table 1 it

emerges that the costs showed a strong increase, percentagewise too, but it is difficult to make an exact comparison because of the unequal assessments.

Since the depreciation through wear and tear and the costs of fitting-out can be calculated for each voyage, this makes it possible to determine the net gain. For working this out the proceeds from the sales are indispensable. These are recorded on the credit side in the ledgers of the Amsterdam Chamber.<sup>52</sup> The costs of the return shipments from Canton to the Netherlands can be determined with the aid of the daybooks and ledgers of the factory, the trade reports and the shipping invoices, which the supercargos conscientiously entered up during their stay in China. After the conclusion of the trading negotiations they took all these documents back with them to Amsterdam.<sup>53</sup> From them it can clearly be seen what goods were bought in and how much the supercargos paid for them. The amounts were noted in Chinese 'taels', a unit of reckoning which in fact indicated a given amount of pure silver. The conversion of these taels into guilders is different for each year, since the imported piastres and rials were accepted by the Chinese factors at their intrinsic value according to the day's quotation for silver

Table 1 *Costs of wear and tear on the ships for the Amsterdam Chamber 1729–34*<sup>51</sup>

Year of departure	Name of ship	Date of building	Length in feet	Value on departure in guilders	Value on return in guilders	Wear and tear costs in guilders	Depreciation in %
1728	<i>Coxhorn</i>	1728	120	55,888	45,450	10,438	18.7
1729	<i>Duijffe</i>	1729	120	55,888	45,374	10,514	18.8
1730	<i>Leijduin</i>	1730	130	74,329	59,154	15,175	20.4
1730	<i>Coxhorn</i>	1728	120	48,389	45,400	2,989	6.2
1731	<i>Ypenroode</i>	1731	130	83,000	60,196	22,804	27.5
1731	<i>Knappenhof</i>	1731	130	83,000	60,196	22,804	27.5
1732	<i>Leijduin</i>	1730	130	72,185	49,421	22,764	31.5
1732	<i>Voorduin</i>	1732	130	72,185	44,259	27,926	38.7
1733	<i>Noordwolfsbergen</i>	1733	130	83,000	54,626	28,374	34.2

in China. The amount of taels the supercargos received for their specie was equated in the account book with the value of the silver in Dutch money, as indicated on the invoice, and from this they then deduced the value of the tael in respect of the guilder. Thus what it boiled down to was that, in default of a fixed rate of exchange, the trading capital was converted into taels without producing a profit or loss and used for the buying-in. The rate for the tael in the period 1729–34 lay between 3 guilders 55 cents and 3 guilders 65 cents. In the calculation of the value of the returns for each year the conversion rate current in that year has been adhered to.<sup>54</sup>

In Appendix 4 figures from the above-mentioned records are compared with one another. From this it emerges that the expenses in Canton were not subject to any great fluctuation, amounting to around 7 to 8% of the trading capital per ship. In 1733 they went down, probably as a result of economy measures, but it can be said that at this period a good 23,000 guilders per ship was required in Canton for trading expenses, the renting of a factory, taxes, gifts, subsistence, repairs etc. The costs of the fitting out in Amsterdam and the expenses of the voyages out and back present a completely different picture. Even if one takes account of the fact that from 1731 onwards 130-foot ships were sent out, which were more expensive than 120-footers like the *Coxhorn* and the *Duijffe*, there still remains a remarkable rise in the cost of equipage. The reductions in the personnel of the *Voorduin* and the *Leijduin* had little effect. On the contrary, those ships were the dearest that were sent out.

It may be noted that the criticism of the high costs, as expressed at the meeting of the *Heeren XVII* on 4 March 1732, cannot have resulted from the voyage of the *Duijffe*. This ship arrived at Texel on 27 July 1731 and the goods she had brought were sold on 29 October and 10 December of that year. The expenses involved in

the second expedition as a whole, *i.e.* of the *Duijffe* and *Buuren* together, were, indeed, very high, because the *Buuren* foundered on its departure in a gale in the Noorderhaaks near Texel. Although English divers did manage to bring up some rigging and a cannon, the ship and her cargo had to be counted as lost. The expenses of the voyage of the *Duijffe*, however, were not exceptionally high. On the contrary, her voyage was the cheapest among all of them. However, if one looks at the net gains in relation to the trading capital provided, there is a striking fall of over 20% as compared with the figures for the voyage of the *Coxhorn* in the previous year. Thus the *Heeren XVII* did indeed react in a singularly pertinent manner to the declining returns, but they would have done better to look for the reasons for this in the poorer quality of the goods brought back than in the costs of fitting out.

In order to cope with the fall in profits for the reasons sketched above, the *Heeren XVII* proposed a number of changes in the China trade. A permanent factory would have to be established in Canton under the supervision of Batavia, the costs of fitting out must be reduced and the amount of silver used in the trade decreased by the taking out of more manufactured goods.<sup>55</sup>

Amsterdam reacted to this by deciding thenceforth to appoint only one supercargo per ship at a reduced salary of 120 guilders and otherwise only assistants at a salary of 24 guilders a month. The number of ship's officers was also reduced and some of their functions were amalgamated, while the Masters of the Warehouse were commissioned to buy up cloth that would bring in a good profit in China.<sup>56</sup> It is clear from Appendix 4 that the saving on the salaries brought scarcely any reduction in the fitting-out costs. Moreover none of this will have done much to promote readiness on the part of the factors to economize on the costs of the trade in Canton. Amsterdam soon recognized

this, for a year later this ruling was rescinded and on the *Noordwolfsbergen* four supercargos were appointed, two of whom were even of the first rank with the old monthly salaries.

In 1733 an attempt was made to solve the problem of the ships carrying no useful cargo on the outward voyage by taking on 50 extra men, who were put off at the Cape where they served as replacements for crew members of other ships who were ill or had died.<sup>57</sup>

The measures proposed by the *Heeren XVII* for the improvement of the China trade were also put before the *Hoge Regering* at Batavia, which gave a detailed and well considered, but negative answer to them there in 1733.<sup>58</sup> In that answer were summarized all sorts of practical reasons, the fact that the junk traffic would be endangered, in particular, being given full emphasis. The *Hoge Regering* concluded by suggesting that the China trade should thenceforth be organized from Batavia. An appended dissenting opinion from Councillor-in-ordinary Wybrand Blom contained the suggestion that all direct trade with China, whether from the Netherlands or from Batavia, should be stopped. In his view, it would be possible for everything that was required to be imported to order via the Chinese carriers, as it had been in the past, if only the junk traffic were sufficiently stimulated.<sup>59</sup>

Both proposals were discussed in the spring of 1734 by a special committee of the *Heeren XVII* on which the Amsterdam Chamber was strongly represented.<sup>60</sup> The decision it reached was to advise the *Heeren XVII* to abandon the direct trade and to let the trade with China be conducted via Batavia in future. The *Hoge Regering* would then be required to send three or four ships to China which, after the conclusion of their business there, could sail direct to the Netherlands without calling at Batavia again. In addition Batavia could send a ship 'for its own use', on which the supercargos could return. Blom's proposal was thought very attractive,

but the risk that regular imports via the junks would be jeopardized by external factors was nonetheless too great, in the light of experiences during the period 1718–22.

The committee will not have found it easy to reach this decision. The abandonment of the direct trade meant relinquishing the Amsterdam initiative, letting the organization pass out of their hands and reducing their control over the way things went. On the other hand it would have been difficult for them to do anything else. The steadily continuing fall in profits and the increase in costs had elicited fundamental criticism from the delegates from the other Chambers and demonstrated all too clearly the need for reorganization.

The decision was furthered by the growing irritation of the delegates over the 'excesses' of the personnel, this even being given as one of the reasons why the committee wanted to abandon the trade in the resolution in which it came to its decision. By these 'excesses' were undoubtedly meant the smuggling practices of the supercargos and ship's officers of the ships that returned in 1733, the *Knappenhoff* and *Ypenroode*, which certainly were exceptionally extensive and brazen. It was customary for the merchandise brought back by the personnel in excess of the 'permitted goods' to be offloaded on to boats as soon as the ships arrived in the Channel and transported to the Netherlands via the Channel Islands, England or France. In this way the risk of being caught smuggling when the ship was checked was considerably reduced and it appears that everyone joined in this at all levels. The crew of the two China ships in question had either not taken the trouble to transfer their private goods to other vessels in good time or else they had had no opportunity to do so, but, however this may have been, an enormous quantity of smuggled goods was 'impounded' during the inspection on their arrival in Texel.<sup>61</sup>

The *Heeren XVII* adopted the proposal of the

committee in broad outline, but fixed the number of ships not at three or four, but only at two for the time being, '... one of which will principally have to serve for transporting the porcelain and silk stuffs direct to the Fatherland, the same being required further to be filled up with tea...', while the other ship could return to Batavia laden with tea.<sup>62</sup> Buying was to be done in part with silver, for which the *Hoge Regering* would receive 600,000 guilders annually, supplemented at Batavia by tin, lead and wood, which, taken along as ballast, could be exchanged in Canton for a more profitable ballast of porcelain and spelter.

The junk traffic was likewise to be promoted. Extra moneys and merchandise in demand among the Chinese were made available to this end, while the China ships were only allowed to take small quantities of spices from Batavia, since the spice trade was very important for the junk traffic. In addition it was regarded as desirable to investigate whether Blom's suggestion, the placing of orders, offered real possibilities.

Thus the *Heeren XVII* were stimulating two developments simultaneously, namely a direct trade with China from Batavia and an encouragement of the junk traffic. The intention was to find out after a certain lapse of time which was the most advantageous. The success of the new measures was regarded as being of the greatest importance, 'for the times are beginning to run in such a way that the whole existence of the Company will already have to depend to a large extent on the success of this commerce...'<sup>63</sup>

### *3 The China trade under Batavia, 1735–56*

The 'trial' continued until 1756, the trade with China being conducted by the *Hoge Regering* in the same way as the other branches of the inter-

Asiatic trade. The extent of the trade was now determined for China too by the 'Requirements for the Return Shipments', a list drawn up annually at the meeting of the *Heeren XVII*, in which the nature and amount of the goods to be purchased for the Netherlands were set out in detail for each factory. The amount purchased in China was initially estimated at two shiploads, one for the Amsterdam Chamber and one for Batavia. After Zeeland had also joined in with a ship in 1737, the *Heeren XVII* gave their permission for three ships to be sent to Canton in future, two of which would return direct to the Netherlands, albeit they did so with some reluctance and on condition that the junk traffic would not suffer as a result<sup>64</sup>. From then onwards, in addition to Zeeland, the smaller Chambers also took part in the China trade in rotation<sup>65</sup>.

The supercargos were appointed by the *Hoge Regering* under the customary conditions. Each of them was allowed to send two one-foot square chests to the Netherlands on the return ships 'for delivery to relatives or acquaintances'.<sup>66</sup> If so wished, the 'permitted goods' sent in these chests to the Netherlands could be sold by the Company and the proceeds added to the amount of the owner's salary. For this service a charge of 8% of the proceeds was made, except in the case of porcelain, Malacca canes and tamarind, for which only 1½% was charged.<sup>67</sup>

By contrast to the situation in the old days of the direct trade, the supercargos now took charge of the buying and selling of the cargos of all the ships in concert irrespective of the Chamber, the organisation of the English and French Companies no doubt serving as an example here. Thus it was possible for a considerable reduction to be made in their numbers and up to 1747 the entire trade was carried on by only three supercargos. However, the continual extension of their activities and the large number of ships that had to be loaded

up with 'freight tea' made a larger complement necessary and after 1750 in particular the staff was enlarged by various supercargos and assistants (see Appendix 2). The increasing importance of the China trade was further acknowledged by the appointment in 1752 of Roeland Blok, who was not just a first supercargo, but was given the rank of director. He was succeeded as director in 1754 by Eyso de Wendt, who had made his career as supercargo in the trade with Canton via Surat.

The China trade via Batavia prospered and in the opinion of the directors the profits were at first higher than they had been during the period of direct trade<sup>68</sup>. The fear that the junk traffic would be impeded proved groundless. On the contrary, each year there were imported into Batavia via the junks ever greater quantities of tea, which were then sent to the Netherlands by private individuals in the Company's ships. This was done in part in the permitted chests of the personnel, but actually to a greater extent as contraband and that in such quantities that the ships were endangered by overloading. Despite all the prohibitions and rulings, the Company never succeeded in suppressing this evil, so in 1742 the *Heeren XVII* decided to turn the smuggling trade to their own advantage. They made ships belonging to the Company available for the carrying of tea and porcelain for private individuals on payment of a freight charge from Batavia to the Netherlands and even from Canton to Batavia<sup>69</sup>. In this they were following the advice earlier given by the *Hoge Regering* in 1733 (see Note 58), as well as taking up the proposals for the improvement of the Company's finances and organization made by Governor-General van Imhoff in his 'Considerations', in which he had argued that the trade in most of the Asiatic products, including tea, should be granted to independent merchants, on condition that the goods should be transported to Europe in Company ships.<sup>70</sup>

The *Heeren XVII* did, however, demand that

in addition to this the Company's own China trade should be continued in the same way as before, because the directly imported fresh 'China tea' usually fetched double the amount made at the sales by the 'Batavia tea', which took longer to reach the Netherlands and was thus not so fresh. The directors wanted to keep the profitable trade in raw silk and silk textiles completely in the Company's own hands<sup>71</sup> and in fact no change took place in the Company's monopoly position as regards Chinese goods.

Another measure that was proposed by Van Imhoff concerned the counteracting of fraud in the various factories. In order to increase the supercargos' involvement in the China trade, Van Imhoff suggested that they should receive in common 'for their diligence and pains' 1% of the sale of both the goods brought from Batavia and those imported into the Netherlands, the rate for gold and silver being  $\frac{1}{2}$ %. The *Heeren XVII* approved this measure, which they thought 'might be of great use' in curbing the fraudulent practices in China. The latter were succinctly defined in the follow-up to the letter to the *Hoge Regering*. Henceforth it was to be required of the supercargos that they affirmed upon oath 'that, in truth, nothing more had been received from the goods sold and also nothing less paid out for those bought in than was stated in the accounts drawn up for the Company'.<sup>72</sup> However, the deception continued nonetheless, as is clear from the secret report sent to Batavia in 1751 by the first supercargo, Reinier Toussain.<sup>73</sup>

The freight-traffic in tea, 'tea under recognisance', was evidently attractive for private individuals, despite the fact that the European Companies brought enormous quantities of tea on to the market.<sup>74</sup> In 1747 there were even three extra ships sent from Batavia to Canton to buy up 15,000 piculs of tea (1,837,500 pounds) for private individuals and transport it to the Netherlands. The *Heeren XVII* exhorted the *Hoge Regering*, undoubtedly with justice, 'to take

care not to neglect the Company's goods for the sake of the teas under recognizance'.<sup>75</sup> Because of the great demand, the tea prices in Canton went up and the Company was also obliged to pay more for its own tea, a development that had not been foreseen when the tea trade was freed and that certainly gave rise to some concern.<sup>76</sup>

The Company's sales of tea in the Netherlands suffered little hurt from the private freight tea, because the directors took good care to see that their own tea was sold first. A quite different and much more serious threat to its own market arose in 1751, when Frederick the Great of Prussia granted a charter to the *Königlich-Preussische Asiatische Compagnie in Emden nach Canton und China*, a direct competitor which evidently saw a chance of winning a share in the China trade for itself.<sup>77</sup> The *Heeren XVII* were afraid that this Company would offer large quantities of tea at the sales and that the prices would drop as a result. There was also a danger of extensive smuggling of tea into the Northern provinces, which might reduce the market for their own tea there.

It must have been particularly exasperating for them that the Emden Company had been set up in part with Dutch capital and that it made use of the services of supercargos who had formerly traded for the Dutch Company. For example, Gerard de Bock was appointed as first supercargo, undoubtedly on the basis of his experience in the China trade, gained during his voyage with the *Duijffe* in 1730. Even his ship, the *König van Preussen*, the first to be fitted out by this Company, was Dutch: 'an old, laid off Dutch warship, bought by the Emden Company for 20,000 guilders and patched up a little again'.<sup>78</sup>

Just as they had before in the struggle against the Ostend Company, so now too the *Heeren XVII* thought they could do nothing better than step up the imports of tea into the Netherlands. It was proposed that thenceforth four

ships should be sent direct to the Netherlands from Canton, the additional ships to be laden exclusively with tea for the Company and not with freight tea.

These deliberations took place at a period when the economic decline of the Republic was regarded by many as critical. The Stadholder William IV, who was expected to take steps to turn the tide, had set up a commission with the object of providing new stimuli for trade and industry. One of the members of this commission was Thomas Hope, a prominent banker.<sup>79</sup> The commission came up with proposals that the import and export duties in the Republic should be lowered and a limited amount of free trade allowed, to China among other places.<sup>80</sup> In this they received powerful support from numerous Amsterdam merchants, who expected a great deal from free trade or would already have been delighted even by the extension of the recognizance system alone.

At the very moment when the *Heeren XVII* were cogitating over the sending of additional ships to China and the suppression of the freight tea, William IV, on the insistence of the commission, made enquiries about the desirability of these moves.<sup>81</sup> He asked his representatives and the Company's advocate for a survey of the history of the China trade and an explanation of the decision of 1734 to stop the direct trade. In addition, he wanted to know why the two extra tea ships could not be sent to China direct from the Netherlands and what the objections were to opening the China trade to private individuals.<sup>82</sup>

Both the advocate Nicolaas Hartman and the representatives drew up memoranda, in which they advised against the resumption of the direct trade in the strongest possible terms.<sup>83</sup> The arguments they advanced were not exactly original, consisting of a reiteration of the disadvantages as formerly set out by the *Heeren XVII* and the *Hoge Regering*. The net gains from the direct trade were unearthed from the ledger of

the Amsterdam Chamber and compared with the financial results of 1734 and 1746 with the intention of demonstrating the advantage of trade via Batavia. The representatives' argument against the opening of the China trade 'to all and sundry' is typical of the Company's desperate clinging to what it had attained and its horror of innovation.

The obstinacy of the Company, which felt its position of authority to be under threat, and the death of William IV in the autumn of 1751 put an end for a while to the discussion about free trade. The *Heeren XVII* were now able to carry out their plans and they gave the *Hoge Regering* instructions to send four ships to China.<sup>84</sup> In order to make sure of obtaining good quality tea the directors sent two expert 'tea-tasters' along as assistants to assess the purchases. One of the experts died on the outward voyage, while the other, Carel van Ludick, worked in Canton from 1753 until his death in 1755, but it is noteworthy that it was precisely then that the complaints of the *Heeren XVII* about expensive tea of poor quality increased!

Governor-General van Imhoff had died in 1750 and his successor, Jacob Mossel, who was opposed to free trade, had countermanded his measures to some extent and was trying to limit the trade of private individuals in Company goods as far as possible.<sup>85</sup> Shortly after his appointment he made a written representation about the 'true, but critical situation' of the Company. In it he took stock of all the factories in Asia, giving a short survey of the trade conducted by them and establishing which of them were 'profitable' for the Company and which made a loss. Finally, he pressed for economies, measures to combat corruption and the stimulation of trade in the areas that were still profitable, China in particular.<sup>86</sup>

He also gave a survey of the trade between Batavia and Surat via Canton. This was a short-lived experiment, a plan put forward by the 'Surat ministers', to which the *Hoge Regering* had

given its fiat in 1746.<sup>87</sup> A ship sailed from Batavia to Canton with a cargo of spices and other merchandise, which it sold there, afterwards taking on porcelain, drugs and silk and proceeding with all despatch to Surat. There this second cargo was exchanged for cotton, sugar, gum and piece-goods. Making use of the seasonal change in the winds, the ship then sailed back to Canton again, putting in at various ports en route, where part of the cargo was sold and tin and other things taken on board. Finally, the whole cargo was again disposed of in Canton and the ship was loaded up by the supercargos with goods for Batavia or the Netherlands.

The *Heeren XVII* gave their permission for this country trade without expecting much from it, mainly in order to have a regular service between India and China like the English. Mossel thought that with a profit of thirty to forty thousand guilders 'the voyage was made quite well worth while', but that was only a rough estimate. Despite repeated requests from the *Heeren XVII*, the *Hoge Regering* was never able to determine the exact gains on the Surat trade, since so many intermediate ports were called at, but the clear profit will not have been much higher than 20–22%, not enough for it to be kept going and it was in fact recommended as early as 1752 that a stop should be put to this trade, which 'is only advantageous for the supercargos and private individuals'.<sup>88</sup>

It was left to the *Haagsch Besogne*, the committee that had been set up to answer letters that came in, to reply to Mossel's above-mentioned 'Reflections'. The committee members put forward a proposed answer at the meeting of the *Heeren XVII* on 24 March 1754, in the minutes of which it is expressly stated that this document had been drawn up by the principal shareholders. Its criticism of the 'Reflections' was harsh. It was pointed out that the main reason for the Company's decline was the cost involved in maintaining Batavia as the centre for the



trade in Asia. Mossel's opinion that the China trade would be so advantageous for the Company, 'because the Company's ships find their cargos in Batavia, while other Nations generally come into the market at Canton with ready moneys', did not meet with much approval either.

In the form of a 'Rescription of the Meeting of the *Heeren XVII* to the Reflections of Governor-General Mossel' the proposed reply was adopted, printed and sent out to the East Indies, with the request that it should be answered. At the same time it was announced 'that meanwhile we are not sitting still here in this country, but the deliberations over the Company's true, but critical situation will be continued by the gentlemen delegates from the respective Chambers and the appointees of this meeting'.<sup>89</sup>

That this promise to the *Hoge Regering* regarding the continuation of the discussion was kept is clear from a document in the Hope Collection<sup>90</sup>. This 'preliminary discourse' is couched in the first person singular and it seems very probable that it is by Hope himself and that it relates to the speech he made as principal shareholder in the *Haagsch Besogne*.<sup>91</sup>

His address begins with a general exposition in which the delegates of the Chambers are given a sharp reprimand for having read the 'Reflections' 'with little attention' and for failing to understand the gravity of the situation. He then goes into the necessity of halting the decline and possible ways of doing this. This introduction contains a remark which sheds light on the striking initiative of the principal shareholders with regard to the 'Rescription' and their fierce criticism. It is to the effect that they, the principal shareholders, had already been engaged on 'a close investigation of the causes of the decline' when Mossel's 'Reflections' were received in the Netherlands. If one links this remark with what happened in 1751, *i.e.* with the plans of William IV's commission

for limited free trade and the unsuccessful attempt to include the China trade in this, then it sounds as if the members of that commission, and especially Thomas Hope, did not acquiesce in the rejection of their ideas by the *Heeren XVII*. As principal shareholder Hope must have envisaged the possibility of bringing about a change from the inside in the structure of the East India Company, which must have seemed hopelessly out-of-date to a modern banker like him. Mossel's 'Reflections' provided a golden opportunity for him to put his ideas forward in another guise. He even remarked in his speech that the causes of the decline must be looked for not only in the East Indies, but also in the policy in the Netherlands, although he wanted to defer until later the discussion of 'such an intricate, complicated and, to me, such a disagreeable subject as that of the causes of the decline in the State of the Company proceeding immediately and directly from the Direction in the Netherlands'.

Following this address the *Haagsch Besogne*, albeit in fact the principal shareholders, drew up a letter of advice to the *Heeren XVII* again, in which they intimated that the autonomy of Batavia must be drastically curtailed. Ideally they would have liked all the factories to come under direct control from the Netherlands, but they realised that this was impossible. All the same they wanted to provide an example and for this they selected the China trade, the very branch of the trade that Mossel had described as so profitable. They roundly condemned Batavia's policy regarding the China trade, demonstrating in detail that it certainly was not so profitable and on this basis they advised the *Heeren XVII* to take the China trade back under their own management again and to conduct it directly from the Netherlands.<sup>92</sup>

But were the financial results of the China trade really as bad as the principal shareholders made out? They based their opinion on an analysis of only a single cargo, gave no ex-

haustive review of gains and losses and, while they found things to criticize, such as the carrying to China of large quantities of pepper, which could have been sold to better advantage elsewhere, they forgot in this connection that the trade would otherwise have had to be conducted to a much greater extent with silver, which was also expensive. The financial statistics of the China trade under Batavia have been preserved almost as fully as those for the period of the direct trade, thus it is possible to test Hope's opinions in this respect.<sup>93</sup>

In their trade reports and other documents the supercargos supplied information about the purchasing value of the merchandise carried to China, the profit or loss on the sale of each article, the costs of the trade and the stay in Canton, the extent of the available trading capital as a whole and the value of the return cargos. A financial survey of the trade in Canton from 1735 to 1757 is given in Appendix 5. It would be going too far to give the profit or loss figures for each article, but what is clear is that goods that made a loss were as far as possible excluded from the carrying trade. From Batavia came spices, tin, copper, wood and less important things like dust pearls (used in the preparation of medicines), rosewater, cotton thread, birds' nests, 'silverworks' and sugar. From the Netherlands were taken silver and cloth. The proceeds on these goods formed the major part of the trading capital.<sup>94</sup>

A complicating factor in the calculations given here is the value of the tael. As soon as Batavia had taken over the organization of the China trade, the fluctuating conversion rate had been replaced by a fixed rate of 100 stuivers in 'light money'.<sup>95</sup> With the general reform of the currency in 1743<sup>96</sup> the value of the tael was raised again, this time to 88 stuivers in 'heavy money'.<sup>97</sup> The advantage of this high value for Batavia was that the profits on the goods taken to China appeared higher than they actually were, while the fact that the profits on the re-

turn shipments in the Netherlands were lower as a result evidently did not interest Batavia so much.

From Appendix 5 it emerges that the costs of the trade in Canton were not much higher than those of the period 1729–34 (see Appendix 4). They varied between 20,000 and 30,000 guilders per ship, reaching a peak in the years 1748–51, because of 'the smaller returns on the trade', according to the supercargos at least.

The gross profits from the sales in Canton were fairly uniform until 1743, when, partly as a result of the revaluation of the tael, they rose to almost double, only to decline rapidly again after 1750, reaching their lowest point in 1755. Over the whole period the profits undeniably declined and at the time when Hope came to concern himself with the China trade that decline was certainly alarming. On the other hand it cannot have been easy for Batavia to finance the China trade. The gains on silver really were minimal<sup>98</sup> and if it were thought desirable to cut down on the part played by silver in the trade, because it could be used more advantageously elsewhere or in Batavia itself, other goods had to be found to take its place. But the market in China was a selective one and Batavia was naturally obliged to send goods that were in demand there, if it wanted to make a profit and thus build up the necessary trading capital. Pepper, cloves, tin and other things which Hope would rather have seen sold elsewhere for higher prices were indispensable for this. Moreover, the Company had no monopoly on the goods it took to China. The English were, as part of the 'country trade', carrying ever larger amounts of merchandise from India and Further India to Canton, including pepper, tin and copper, and this constituted formidable competition for the Dutch.<sup>99</sup>

An additional factor was that after 1750 Batavia brought larger quantities on to the market, which led to a decline in the profits. The demand of the *Heeren XVII* that four ships

instead of two should be sent direct to the Netherlands from 1752 onwards made it necessary to increase the trading capital, so Batavia sent still more goods and the profits dropped in proportion. This could have been avoided if the *Heeren XVII* had raised the trading capital by sending more silver, for which the market in China was limitless, but they kept to an average 300,000 guilders per ship.

In Appendix 6 the values of the return shipments that were sent direct to the Netherlands are compared with the proceeds of the sales, so that the *rendement* (returns) can be calculated, this term being used by the *Heeren XVII* for the gross profit. Unfortunately, it is not possible to make comparisons with the original capital sent to Batavia by the *Heeren XVII* for the China trade and so calculate a more real profit, because the specification is no longer to be found in the total of the remittances. Nor would it be correct to make comparisons with the trading capital in Canton, since this capital was not only used for return shipments to the Netherlands, but also for cargos for Batavia and other factories and as a reserve. The value of the return shipments has been made out from the shipping invoices, amplified by or checked against reports, unloading books and letters.<sup>100</sup>

Unfortunately, the proceeds of the sales of the return shipments for this period are no longer specified in the 'General Statements' (see Note 52). However, there does exist another source, namely the 'Collocation of Sales', in which all the return cargos of the ships that came direct from Canton are listed separately and in detail for each Chamber.<sup>101</sup> This 'Collocation' has been exhaustively analysed by Glamann<sup>102</sup>, who comes to the conclusion that it is not a survey of the amounts actually sold and the prices paid for them, but that it is in fact a list of the amounts offered for sale – but not necessarily actually sold – by the *Heeren XVII*, while the prices indicate the average proceeds. According to Glamann, the 'Collocation' was

meant to offer the *Heeren XVII* a rough survey of the profits to be expected immediately after the sales, since the exact figures did not become available in time for policy decisions to be based on them.

It is a unique fact in the Company's book-keeping that the proceeds on the sales of the goods from a single factory should be posted separately and in detail. In all other cases the proceeds were noted per article with no mention of the provenance. It is not clear why this exception was made for China, but the ships that returned direct were evidently considered sufficiently important to be administered separately, as had been the practice during the period 1729–34. The goods shipped from Canton to the Netherlands via Batavia were generally sold in the spring and it is notable that these return shipments are not specified. Perforce, then, it is only possible to deal with the direct return shipments and those that returned via Batavia have to be left out of account.

It appears that, despite the revaluation of the tael in 1743, the gross profits for the years 1736 to 1756 invariably amounted to around 115% until 1747. After 1747 they declined, probably under the influence of the freight tea, which depressed the market price in the Netherlands. The facts that a greater supply resulted in dwindling profits and that the market in Europe was saturated are illustrated by the figures for 1752 and succeeding years, when the Company doubled its imports of tea. The gains on silk, porcelain and other goods could not make up for the disastrous decline in those on tea. In 1754 the returns were only 10%, a gross profit from which all the costs still had to be subtracted, so that in fact the shipment made an enormous loss. In the last year the profits rise again, but one is tempted to attribute that to an effort on the part of the supercargos to show, by sending better quality goods, that the trade via Batavia was pretty lucrative after all.

The quality of the goods was indeed another

reason for the fall in profits. The *Heeren XVII* had stipulated in 1751 that the two additional ships must be laden with 'ordinary Bohea tea', but this sort had already been supplanted in Europe by finer kinds of tea before then.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, the quality of the tea bought by the supercargos was not good, witness the many complaints of the *Heeren XVII* in the letters to the *Hoge Regering*. Hope's remark that the sale prices in the Netherlands were 40–50% below those of the competitors is thus characteristic of the situation.

If one now wants to compare the financial results of the trade under Batavia with those of the direct trade in the preceding period, then the best way to do so is with the figures for the gross profits (Appendices 4 and 6). Even if one includes in the calculations for the period 1735–47 a rough estimate of the goods from China that reached the Netherlands via Batavia, the trade under Batavia's direction was still scarcely more profitable than that during the years 1729–34. When the returns begin to fall after 1747, the balance definitely swings in favour of the direct trade and the Amsterdam merchants and the members of William IV's commission really were right to press for a resumption of the direct trade in 1751, however much their own interests may also have played a role in the decision.

The opinions of Thomas Hope and the principal shareholders are simply confirmed by what has been said above, although the fall in the profits after 1750 was also attributable in part to the general economic decline of the Republic and was not entirely due to Batavia's management. Those opinions are reflected in the memorandum of the *Haagsch Besogne*, which was submitted at the meeting of the *Heeren XVII* on 11 October 1754. Since Zeeland had received the documents too late for perusal and because the directors wanted to give thorough consideration to the proposals, discussion of them was postponed until the spring meeting in

1755. The Amsterdam Chamber instructed its representatives to support the proposal of the principal shareholders<sup>104</sup> and that meant that the discussion in the meeting of the *Heeren XVII* was simply a formality. The resumption of the direct trade with China from the Netherlands was approved.<sup>105</sup>

In their letter informing the *Hoge Regering* of their decision the *Heeren XVII* wrote that they would have preferred to have begun the direct trade in 1756, but that since the time for preparation was so short and the China ships from Batavia would already be sent in July, so that there would be a risk of two 'expeditions' arriving in Canton at the same time, they had decided to defer starting it until 1757. This was in order to give the *Hoge Regering* 'an opportunity to let us see and feel that you gentlemen are genuinely disposed to co-operate with us in the highly necessary redress of the administration and management in the Indies'.<sup>106</sup> The answer to this letter was mere hollow verbiage, Batavia acquiescing in the decision under a formal protest. By sacrificing the China trade she did in any case keep the other Asiatic factories.

#### 4 *The direct trade, 1757–94*

After having decided to resume the direct trade with China, the *Heeren XVII* set up a committee to make the necessary preparations for it.<sup>107</sup> This 'China Committee', which began work in the autumn of 1755, was given absolute authority and was able to make decisions and take steps more or less outside the meeting of the *Heeren XVII*, since everything concerning the China trade was delegated to it. A committee of this kind, exclusively for the trade in a single area, is unique in the history of the Dutch East India Company. It made it possible to achieve a purposeful, flexible and efficient management.

After the Amsterdam committee members

had got their bearings as regards the situation of their competitors and the possibilities of resuming the China trade on a sounder footing during the spring and summer of 1756, the first meeting of the Committee as a whole was held on 9 November of that year.<sup>108</sup> Since four China ships were expected from the most recent return from Batavia, the stocks in the warehouses were still high and the Company's financial situation did not allow of an extensive expedition, it was decided that only two ships should be fitted out, the *Slooten* and the *Spaarzaamheid*. The lessons of the past were taken to heart. The ships were instructed to call at Batavia on the way out, so that men and useful supplies could be taken there. In emulation of other Companies and in the light of the trade reports of the preceding years, the Committee decided to conduct the bulk of the trade in silver and to send 300,000 guilders in silver coinage with each ship. It was hoped that this would make it possible for goods of better quality to be bought in China. In addition a few consignments of cloth were also sent along 'as a trial', while the ships were further allowed to take small amounts of tin, lead and spices from Batavia, the sale of which had proved profitable in the past. On the return journey the captains were ordered to head straight for the Netherlands, without calling at Batavia. The goods that Batavia needed from China for its own provisioning and the inter-Asiatic trade, in particular gold for the Coromandel textile trade, would have to be paid for thenceforth out of the general capital of '52 tons of bullion' sent out every year from the Netherlands for the Indies. The supercargos could certainly be commissioned to purchase what was needed, but the transport to Batavia must be organized by the *Hoge Regering* itself.

Initially the trade was put in the hands of a director, who was assisted by a number of supercargos.<sup>109</sup> Michael Graae was appointed for the first expedition. He was not paid a month-

ly salary, but received 3% of the gross profits on the return shipments. The supercargos were appointed at a salary of 150 guilders a month, while the assistants were paid 80 guilders. In 1762 the salary of the first supercargo was raised to 180 guilders to underline his position. In order to prevent any repetition of past difficulties, no 'permitted chests' were allowed, but instead the supercargos and their assistants were given a percentage of the gross profits on the return shipments.<sup>110</sup>

The abolition of the permitted chests met with opposition, because the supercargos did not want to return to the Netherlands empty-handed. They were already caught smuggling silk textiles after the first voyage and the Committee evidently drew the logical conclusions from this. From 1759 onwards the supercargos were allowed to send a total of 40 'dispensation chests' on the return ships on their own account – divided up among them according to rank –, so as 'to be able to bring with them a little tea or porcelain as mementoes for themselves or their friends in a permitted manner'.<sup>111</sup>

The Committee had high hopes of the first expedition. Among the documents, kept by the director Samuel Radermacher, a member of the China Committee (fig. 1), there is even a linen (money?) bag inscribed with the text 'In Particular the Trade with China from Amsterdam resumed in 1756' (Fig. 2). But fate was not on their side. The director Michael Graae and some of the supercargos became seriously ill. Graae was replaced by Jan van der Hoeven, a man who had had experience of the China trade in the service of other Companies and who was now appointed first supercargo. Then, just as in 1728, only one ship, the *Slooten*, set sail, because the *Spaarzaamheid* got stuck in the ice when the frosts set in. In 1758 two ships went out, while from 1759 onwards Zeeland also took part in the trade with a ship.

However, the Seven Years' War (1756–63)

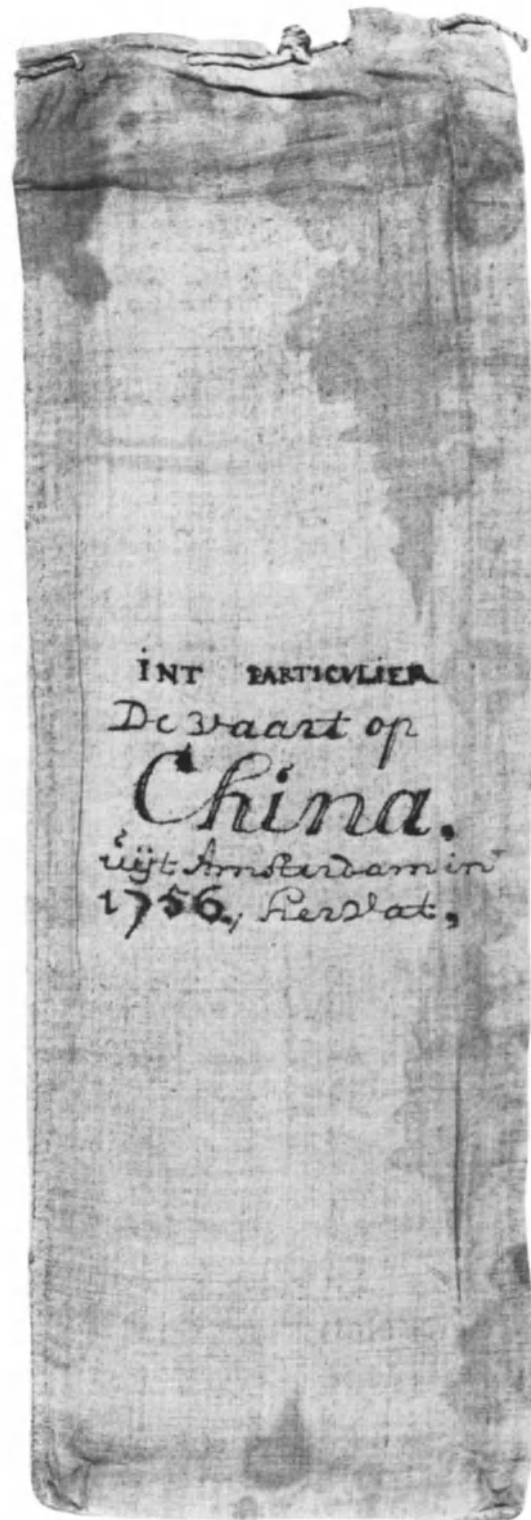


1 P. van Dijk (1680–1753), portrait of Samuel Radermacher (1693–1761), director of the Dutch East India Company and member of the China Committee. Oil on canvas, 44 × 36 cm. Private collection.

certainly worked greatly to the China Committee's advantage. A direct result of its outbreak was that the ships from Emden were prevented from sailing and the Prussian Company was disbanded again in 1757. In Asia there was a furious struggle between England and France in particular, as a result of which the English succeeded in bringing about a considerable extension of their commercial interests in India and Further India, while French expansion was checked. The trade in Canton likewise felt the consequences of the war. Fewer English and Skandinavian and almost no French ships came to trade there, so that the Dutch East India Company met with less competition. Purchasing became cheaper, while the sales yielded good profits on account of the scarcity in Europe. These 'favourable circumstances of the times' led the Committee to decide in 1762, when peace was in sight, to send four ships to China from then on, in order to consolidate its position, which was now better than it had ever been before.<sup>112</sup> From 1766 onwards the other Chambers also took part in the trade and there grew up as a fixed pattern the custom of fitting out two ships for Amsterdam, one for Zeeland and one for the Northern or Southern Quarter. From 1774 onwards the smaller Chambers even took part individually, each of them getting a turn every four years.

The China Committee met each autumn to deliberate over the next expedition. The reports that had come in with the return ships were read, the reports of the foreign correspondents assessed and evaluated and the supercargos who had returned interviewed. And, of course, the proceeds on the return shipments at the autumn sales also played an important part in settling the new 'Requirements for China'.

It very soon appeared that a good relationship with Batavia was of the utmost importance and the Committee had to revise its decision to



2 Linen (money) bag, inscribed in ink 'In Particular the Trade with China from Amsterdam resumed in 1756', 38.5 × 13 cm. National Archives, Radermacher Collection no. 495.

take only small amounts of spices on board in Batavia for China. Pepper, nutmegs, cloves and other spices were shipped to an increasing extent, for the profits to be made on them proved indispensable for the buying-in of the extensive and expensive return cargos for the Netherlands.

That the junk traffic might be reduced by this, or that it would be better to sell these goods more advantageously elsewhere were old arguments that were no longer brought forward. Admittedly the Committee remarked in a letter to the *Hoge Regering* that the junk traffic must be promoted, but at the same time it ordered that licenses should only be given to those (Chinese) traders who brought goods that the Company itself did not trade in.<sup>113</sup> In 1762 it even gave its approval to the licensing of two ships to be sent by free burghers of Batavia to Canton, but here too the restrictions were such as to render unnecessary any concern on the part of the supercargos as regards the numerous complications that this could lead to.<sup>114</sup> The Company monopolized the China trade as much as possible and it nowhere appears that free burghers ever made use of the opportunity offered. Trade with Batavia under these circumstances was no longer of interest to the Chinese merchants either, thus the junk traffic sharply declined. In 1776 the *Hoge Regering* even complained that no junks had appeared for years and that 'the consequences for this Colony are very disadvantageous and it is certainly to be wished that this were otherwise'.<sup>115</sup>

The *Hoge Regering* itself made extensive use of the opportunity of sending its often superfluous stocks on the ships and getting rid of them in China. Part of the proceeds was meant for the buying-in of the return cargo for the Netherlands and part was used for the buying-in of goods for Batavia, especially gold, which could be obtained relatively cheaply.<sup>116</sup> In 1758, when the China ships from the Netherlands failed to reach Batavia in time owing to con-

trary winds, the *Hoge Regering* sent the *Zuijd Beveland* to Canton on its own initiative and at its own expense to make sure that the gold was bought. There thus came about in Canton the remarkable state of affairs that there were two groups of supercargos engaged in buying-in, one for Batavia and one for the Netherlands. Of the gold to the value of 600,000 guilders that Batavia had demanded that year, over 450,000 guilders worth was contracted for with Chinese merchants and the English independent merchant Edmond Roth, but in succeeding years too enormous sums were involved in the gold trade. However, in 1760 the Chinese authorities instituted an export ban on gold, so that it was only possible to obtain it illegally. As a result Batavia's interest in this commodity gradually declined and by 1779 gold had become so expensive in China that the supercargos even suggested that the trade should be conducted in part with gold ducatoons instead of silver<sup>117</sup>, a recommendation that was, indeed, followed in 1780 and 1783.

The transport of the goods for Batavia, such as medicaments and herbs for the 'medicine shop', porcelain for local use and other minor things like straw hats, was done in Chinese or Portuguese junks.<sup>118</sup> That was, however, too risky for gold and so Batavia had made an arrangement whereby a cruiser waited for the return ships off the North-Island and the gold was transferred to it there.

From the daybooks and ledgers kept by the supercargos in Canton one can see how rapidly the share of the 'Indian merchandise' grew in the total amount of goods taken to China.<sup>119</sup> To illustrate this, Table 2 gives the values for the years 1757–66 of the merchandise and specie carried to Canton from the Netherlands and Batavia for the express purpose of covering the costs of buying-in the return shipments for the Netherlands.<sup>120</sup> The goods and moneys sent by Batavia for its own purchases are left out of account here.



*Table 2 Value of goods and moneys taken to Canton, 1757–66 (in H.fl.)*

year	from Neth.	from Bat.	year	from Neth.	from Bat.
1757	622,360	70,200	1762	1,055,905	936,137
1758	1,434,484	470,986	1763	790,543	833,480
1759	(no figures)		1764	792,979	1,020,818
1760	1,052,153	771,021	1765	1,013,038	1,152,592
1761	466,718	723,943	1766	1,402,612	1,282,280

In the years that followed Batavia's share gradually declined again and it became the rule for the Netherlands to send silver and merchandise worth 350,000 to 400,000 guilders per ship, while the *Hoge Regering* earmarked around 500,000 guilders in all for goods for China.

Once the trade had been organized in this way, it kept going without many problems. The China Committee evidently did not worry about the growth in the English China trade, the more because the English East India Company did not concern itself intensively with the tea trade. Tea was exceptionally heavily taxed in England and the English Company derived no advantage from importing large quantities of it. For example, while a pound of Bohea tea cost about a guilder in the Netherlands, it was three times as much in England.<sup>121</sup> Thus there existed a very extensive and well-organized smuggling trade from the Continent, in which Dutch tea played a big part and the Company, especially the Zeeland Chamber, participated.<sup>122</sup> In 1780 the consumption of tea in England totalled over 18 million pounds, only a third of which was imported by the English East India Company, the rest being supplied by other Companies via private dealers. Since the market was thus assured, the China Committee did not trouble too much about making the tea trade as efficient as possible, being satisfied with the monopoly it had gained and leaving the export from the Netherlands entirely to private individuals, tactics that were later to prove fatal.

This thriving state of affairs was disastrously disrupted by the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–84). In Asiatic waters too, the Dutch were made to feel the supremacy of the English navy and many merchantmen were captured. The ships that had left Canton in January 1781 were kept back at the Cape in order to wait for a French squadron, which was intended to guarantee a safer passage to the Netherlands. There, while they were lying at anchor unprotected in Saldanha Bay, they were suddenly set upon by the English. Three fully laden China ships were captured, while the fourth, the *Middelburg*, was set fire to by its captain and sank on the spot.<sup>123</sup>

This was a catastrophe for the China Committee, the more so because three ships had already been wrecked on the homeward voyage in the previous two years. But despite the war risks, three ships were nonetheless fitted out in 1780. They even arrived safely in Batavia, but the *Hoge Regering* thought it too dangerous to send them on and kept them in port. In 1781 and 1782 the Company's trade with China was completely at a standstill. The supercargos there protested, pointing out that as a free port and neutral area Canton was quite safe and that the English ships were not escorted by warships. All the same, the private ship, *De Goede Hoop*, which came from Surat in 1781 to trade with Canton with the permission of the *Hoge Regering*, was captured by the English merchantman *The Dadeley*, and it cost the Chinese authorities a great deal of trouble to restore the

ship and part of her cargo to her owner again.<sup>124</sup>

The China Committee tried to keep the stagnating trade going by sending ships to Canton under a neutral flag. In 1782 it hired three ships from the 'Prussian Society for Overseas Trade' in Berlin in the name of an Amsterdam merchant, J. Texier, and fitted them out.<sup>125</sup> One of the ships, the *Ooster Eem*, was already lost on the outward voyage, but the *Breslau* and the *Potsdam* arrived safely in Canton in 1783. Unfortunately, however, the *Breslau* foundered off Boulogne on the return voyage, so that only one cargo was available for sale in Amsterdam.

In 1783 the Committee hired two French ships, since France had already concluded peace with England, although the Republic had not yet done so. Batavia was pressed in a letter to send three or four additional ships to China, if it turned out that the peace negotiations really were proceeding favourably. This extension of the trade was intended not only to reduce the shortage of tea and other Chinese goods in the Netherlands, but also and most emphatically to restore the badly damaged image of the Company as a powerful and capable trading organization.<sup>126</sup>

After the signing of the Treaty of Paris, however, there no longer proved to be any possibility of a carefree continuance on the old footing. As a result of the war and the lack of enough capital from the Netherlands, Batavia had to contend with an enormous shortage of money and goods and was in no position to provide extra China ships with the requisite merchandise. True, four ships were, with difficulty, fitted out as of old, but the hired *Comtesse du Nord* and *Empereur du Roij* were kept behind in Batavia.

The problems were made even greater by the fact that the supercargos who had remained behind in Canton during the war years had become heavily indebted to the Chinese merchants. The financial reserves that had always been kept in hand in the past, so that advance

payments could be made, rapidly melted away when the ships stopped coming. The goods contracted for had to be accepted, extra storage space had to be rented and in the end the need became so great that money even had to be borrowed for day-to-day subsistence at an interest rate of 12% or more. These debts too now had to be paid off, but since the Company in the Netherlands was obliged to borrow millions from the States General in order to keep going, the China Committee was as powerless as Batavia to send extra money and the proposed expansion of the trade made little or no headway.<sup>127</sup>

It was particularly unfortunate that the Committee's aspirations could not be realised, for at precisely that period changes occurred which could no longer be coped with. First of all there was the fact that the Americans began trading with China, developing into redoubtable competitors. Their first ship, *The Empress of China*, appeared in the Canton roadstead in 1784.<sup>128</sup> In the years that followed their trade with China increased enormously and they soon became much more important trading partners for the Chinese merchants than the Dutch East India Company.<sup>129</sup>

The Company's position was further undermined by shifts in the tea trade in Europe. In 1784 the English parliament had adopted Pitt's 'Act of Commutation', whereby the import duties and taxes on tea were reduced from over 100% to 12,5% and the English East India Company acquired a monopoly on its importation. Thus the bottom was knocked out of the Continental smuggling trade.<sup>130</sup> At the outset the English Company was not able to meet the home demand on its own and thus had to buy tea abroad. The China Committee now planned to take advantage of this and to make Amsterdam the European centre of the tea trade, especially for the fine and green teas that were much in demand in England.<sup>131</sup> The director Van der Oudermeulen described this am-

bitious programme as follows: 'Now that England wishes to prevent the smuggling trade in tea, it is more advisable than ever before for our own East India Company to ensure that they have a good quantity of tea in hand for some years in succession, so that other Companies will be obliged to import less tea and ours will be in a position, when the smallest lack in England becomes known, to sell the tea to the same with great advantage'<sup>132</sup>. Not only the China Committee, but also the private tea merchants understood very well where their opportunities lay and they reacted much more quickly and pertinently than the Company, which had no experience in the reselling of goods it had imported. The firm of J.J.Voûte & Sons, for instance, managed to supply over 40% of the English market with more than 8 million pounds of tea over the years 1784–86.<sup>133</sup>

Despite these private initiatives, the Dutch East India Company nonetheless bought tea everywhere in order to acquire a monopoly position and the China Committee fitted out six ships a year to fetch tea from China. It was more important than ever that all the ships should return fully laden, but now too part of the purchasing capital had to be supplied in the form of goods by Batavia, which was only able to do this with the greatest difficulty and often kept one or two ships behind. Moreover, the *Hoge Regering* had considerable objections to the extension of the China trade and did not put its heart into helping to achieve it. In its opinion the larger scale purchasing would cause prices to rise in China and fall in Europe, and it would have been preferable to lay out the extra money in Bengal and Coromandel for the purchasing of cotton textiles and opium, commodities which were of great importance for the inter-insular trade. The *Hoge Regering* also had its doubts about the China Committee's opinion that the China trade was 'of considerable weight as regards the interests and maintenance of the Company'.<sup>134</sup> This lack of co-operation and dif-

ference in outlook typifies the internal organisational problems that beset the Dutch East India Company at this time.

There was another specific problem that hastened the Company's decline still further. Tin had long been the most important commodity that Batavia sent on the China ships, comprising one half to two-thirds of the total value of the merchandise and yielding an average profit of 75%. But in these very years when extra tin was needed to finance the increase in purchasing, difficulties arose with the Sultan of Palembang over the compulsory supplies of tin. The price paid by the *Hoge Regering* was already exceptionally low, but now, through lack of ready money, Batavia often postponed payment or offered bills of exchange instead. No wonder then that the smuggling trade in tin, which had always existed, increased sharply at this point. Particular profit was derived from this by the English, who were likewise on the lookout for goods to finance their expanding trade with China.<sup>135</sup>

Vice-Admiral J. P. van Braam's expedition to restrain the rulers of Riouw and Salangoor (1783–4) was partly aimed at putting an end to this smuggling trade and enforcing compliance with the agreements.<sup>136</sup> But although its results were acclaimed on all sides, nothing actually changed. The smuggling simply continued with the approval of the Sultan and only a limited amount of tin from Palembang still reached Batavia. Through lack of manpower and a navy that could operate efficiently, the *Hoge Regering* was able to do little about this. It fully recognized that only prompt and better payment could help and it was obliged to look on helplessly while its own personnel engaged in smuggling. In 1788 an English ship even appeared in Canton with a cargo of tin that had been bought in Batavia.<sup>137</sup>

In Canton too things were going badly. Following the Act of Commutation the English East India Company had worked out tactics for

excluding its competitors from the (tea) trade as far as possible. These were mainly directed against the Dutch East India Company, which was regarded as the most dangerous opponent. The plan of action was roughly as follows: to pay higher prices than the Dutch supercargos dared or were able to; to flood the market in Canton with tin and pepper, so as to bring about a fall in the prices; and to support the private trade with Canton from India, on condition that the profits should be lodged in the Company's coffers in Canton against the issue of bills of exchange on London.<sup>138</sup>

This last move in particular proved most effective. There was a great shortage of silver in Canton, partly as a result of the costly war the Chinese government was waging against the rebels on Formosa, which the Chinese merchants had to help to pay for.<sup>139</sup> Thus good quality silk and tea were only sold for ready money and the contracts had to be paid for in advance. The English East India Company too was initially faced with a lack of money, owing to the shortage of silver in Europe, but it solved this problem by calling on private initiative. The Dutch Company now came up against the drawbacks of its policy of debarring private trade, for it was only able to borrow money to a limited extent against bills of exchange. The goods and moneys carried to China were not sufficient for the purchase of tea, which did, indeed, rapidly become more expensive, and the Dutch supercargos were forced to buy on credit. The Chinese merchants, who did not like that, no longer placed orders in advance and in such a situation did not supply the best qualities. The tea that the Dutch Company was still able to obtain was Bohea tea for the most part, a kind for which there was absolutely no demand in Europe any longer, so a storm of complaints came in from the Netherlands.<sup>140</sup> However, little blame could be attached to the supercargos as long as they had no more ready money at their disposal. In 1788 the Company's debt to

the Chinese merchants had risen to over two and a half million guilders. Despite pressure from the English, the merchants still did continue to supply the Company, but only on the basis of the consideration that it had been such a good customer in the past and that the tide might turn again some time.<sup>141</sup>

On top of all this no less than four ships foundered between 1784 and 1790, most of them in the China Sea. The director and the supercargos pressed the China Committee in various reports to send more up-to-date ships with better crews in emulation of the English<sup>142</sup>, who had, indeed, far outstripped the Dutch in this respect too. High levels of proficiency were demanded of their ships' officers, while voyages of discovery, such as those of Anson and Cook, had opened up shorter and safer routes. Better navigation charts, new navigation techniques and advanced shipbuilding<sup>143</sup> made it possible for the English to leave Canton later than the Dutch and still arrive in the Channel at the same time or even earlier. Another significant fact is that the Dutch supercargos preferred to travel home on English ships, so as to make the voyage more quickly, more comfortably and, above all, more safely.<sup>144</sup>

The above-mentioned problems are characteristic of the whole of the Dutch East India Company's operations. It worked with out-of-date equipment, continued to use techniques that had been completely superseded and showed little or no willingness to accept innovations.<sup>145</sup> It must, however, be said for the China Committee that it took the recommendations of the supercargos to heart. Three-deckers were, indeed, built, the China ships were given copper bottoms and an effort was made to improve the charts of the China Sea.<sup>146</sup>

All these improvements show that the China Committee did at least prove ready to make the necessary changes, but the measures came too late to be able to give matters a favourable turn. Although it sometimes proved possible to

bring in five or six return shipments, the English easily outdid the Company, sending twenty to thirty ships. In 1787 there were no less than 83 ships at Canton, five of which were Dutch, while 29 belonged to the English East India Company and 31 to English private individuals.

In fact the issue had already long been decided when the China Committee bowed to reality in 1789 and gave up trying to become the most important supplier of tea to Europe. The number of ships was reduced to two, Batavia was given permission to trade at Canton itself or via private individuals, the debts to the Chinese merchants were paid off and it was hoped that at least the market in the Netherlands would yield sufficient returns to keep the China trade, and with it the Company, in being.<sup>147</sup> But this was not so simple, for towards the end of the 1780's, against the expectations of the *Heeren XVII*, the English East India Company succeeded in meeting the demand for tea in England to the full, which meant that all the tea that could not be sold in England came to the Netherlands, which was the only country in Europe that had not yet imposed any import restrictions. Thus the Company's market was utterly ruined by dumping prices and superior quality. In 1789 the U.S.A. also instituted a tax on tea imported from Europe, in order to protect its own China trade, so that the market there stagnated as well.<sup>148</sup>

There then developed in the Netherlands a fierce conflict between the *Heeren XVII* and the tea brokers over the introduction of import restrictions in the Netherlands too. The tea merchant J. J. Voûte wrote a number of pamphlets that raised a good deal of dust. He expressed the fear that the system of free competition would disappear if the Company had a monopoly on importing tea and would thus be able to control the price.<sup>149</sup> This was, indeed, what the *Heeren XVII* were aiming for and in

1791 they succeeded in getting the States General to the point of promulgating the decree banning the importation of foreign tea, whereby the Company acquired an absolute monopoly.<sup>150</sup> The tea merchants had seen this coming and had laid in large stocks, but despite that the China Committee was already able in 1791 to increase the number of ships to four again, since the market was now assured.

Research into the last stage of the Dutch East India Company's existence has still scarcely got under way, but it does appear that, in spite of all the setbacks, the China trade nonetheless remained one of the few branches of trade on which profits were still being made.<sup>151</sup>

Unfortunately, it is less easy to draw up a survey of the gross profits made on the China trade during the period 1757–94 than for the years 1729–34 and 1735–56. The prices the supercargos paid for the goods they bought in are known from the shipping invoices, trade reports and daybooks, but we are only poorly informed about the proceeds of the sales for this period, which is remarkable when one remembers how carefully the returns on the China trade were specified in previous years. One would expect there to be a separate mention of the proceeds for the newly instituted direct trade too, but that is not the case. The only source to give a consecutive survey of the proceeds of all the Chambers up to 1790 is the 'General Statements', in which a specification of the returns on the China trade is given every now and then for the smaller Chambers, but not at all for Amsterdam and Zeeland.<sup>152</sup>

Supplementary sources are only available for certain years. The most important are the '*rendement* lists', surveys of the gross profits made in the Netherlands on goods from China. These lists were sent, along with the 'Requirements' and instructions, to Canton, where they were compared with the copies of the shipping invoices. They were intended to clarify the China Committee's comments on the trade and to put

the supercargos in a better position to concentrate their purchasing on the most profitable commodities and varieties. Such lists are known only for Amsterdam and Zeeland and they do not constitute a connected series. For the Amsterdam Chamber there is also a 'Collocation of the Sales' available for the years 1781–4, in which the cargos of the China ships are specified in part.<sup>153</sup>

Finally, there are also incidental mentions of the total proceeds on shipments. In Appendix 6 all these data have been compared as carefully as possible. It proved possible to calculate the gross profits on the whole of the return shipments from China for a number of years, but for others they can only be determined for a few ships, which are mentioned by name in the Appendix. Account has naturally been taken of the facts that some return shipments were sold later, while others were split up or even failed to reach the Netherlands at all.

Thus it is only possible to give a characterization of the profits with distinct reservations. Nonetheless it can be said that the resumption of the direct trade in 1757 was successful at first, partly because of the favourable situation in Canton. After 1763 the China trade became stabilized and the gross profits at that time averaged 80%. After the end of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War the profits fell very rapidly to a level at which it was no longer possible to make any net profit and in fact heavy losses were sustained. The reduction of the China trade in 1789 seems to have produced results and the profits increased again, but the cargos of the ships that left Canton after 1792 failed to reach the Netherlands, because of the outbreak of the wars in Europe.

A final important question is what share the China trade had in the total trade of the Dutch East India Company. For an exact answer, with, for example, a comparison of the gross profits, a separate study would be needed, which would have to be concentrated on the Company's

complicated bookkeeping year by year and factory by factory with the aim of sifting out the amounts of the goods brought in and the prices paid for them. It is simpler, with the aid of the 'General Statements' mentioned above, to compare the total proceeds of the sales each year for all the Chambers together with the proceeds from the return shipments from China, insofar as these are known (see Appendix 6). Such a comparison is only a very rough one, since, for example, the percentage share of the China trade varies according to the number of ships that returned from Canton, but it can nonetheless serve to give some sort of an impression.<sup>154</sup>

These data are compared in Appendix 7. From this it emerges that from 1729 onwards the China trade initially constituted around 5% of the total profits. After 1740 its share in them rose to an average of 15%, while after the resumption of the direct trade in 1757 it even amounted to an average of 20% up to 1789. Unfortunately the figures are too fragmentary after that, but in view of the falling off in the China trade, it can be taken that there was a sharp decline in its share. That share may appear large, but by comparison with the English and the French the Dutch East India Company was in general less dependent on the proceeds of the China trade and it spread its risks more.<sup>155</sup>

In 1795 the Batavian Republic was proclaimed and in 1796 the management of the Dutch East India Company was taken out of the hands of the directors and given to the 'Revolutionary Committee concerned with the East Indian Trade and Possessions'. In 1798 it was decided that the State should assume all the rights and obligations of the Company and thus take over its debts as well, which had risen to 134 million. As Stapel says, 'Thus for this sum the colonial empire, which was still important, passed to the State'.<sup>156</sup>

The Revolution resulted in the departure of many of the personnel in Canton. The first supercargo R. J. Dozij took charge, till he was

replaced by J. H. Rabinel in 1797. Under extremely difficult circumstances this capable man kept the trade going as best as he could, the respect the Dutch enjoyed among the Chinese merchants standing him in good stead in this. During the period of English rule over the Netherlands' overseas possessions, Canton, along with Deshima, was one of the few places in Asia where the Dutch flag still flew. In 1816 Rabinel died and from then on the factory was

managed by the two assistants J. H. Bletterman and B. Zeeman. Bletterman was appointed consul in 1822 and after the great fire of that year in Canton the factory was rebuilt in the same style as a consulate. However, the commercial interests, now in the hands of the Netherlands Trading Company, declined so sharply that in 1840 the consulate was given up.<sup>157</sup>

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## II Life and trade in Canton

### 1 *Introduction*

‘The place for which the ships are bound and destined by us is Canton or Quintang, a famous Commercial City, situated three hours’ journey up a mighty navigable river, which is named after the same, in one of the most Southern provinces of the far-flung Chinese Empire’.<sup>1</sup> This description by the *Hoge Regering* still contains an echo of the almost magical ring the name China had in Europe, but for the seamen and the supercargos life and trade in Canton was a sober and often a hard reality. The Dutch came to Canton primarily as traders and the many letters and reports that were written only seldom reveal a glimmer of interest in or astonishment over Chinese society and culture. The contrast with Deshima in Japan is striking: there one finds ‘Chiefs’ and ship’s surgeons with a wide general interest, whereas no comparable reports full of things worth knowing about China are to be met with.<sup>2</sup> Only Van Braam Houckgeest constitutes an exception to this with his account of the embassy to Peking in 1794–5.<sup>3</sup>

Characteristic of this attitude is the reaction to the printed questionnaire dated 30 December 1778 which the *Hoge Regering* sent to all the Asiatic factories on behalf of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, which was founded

in that year.<sup>4</sup> It asked for information about the geography, the manners and customs, the state of knowledge and the flora and fauna of the place. The fourteen questions were answered by the supercargos as follows: ‘It is well-known that in China the Europeans only live or reside on the edge of the Empire that is in the suburb of Canton, without their being allowed to enter the country or even the city of Canton itself, so that one is not in a position to answer this and many of the following points’. However, they did send ‘some Chinese printed books’, of which, alas, no further description is given, but which are probably still to be found in the Society’s archives, now in the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. Similarly, no response was made to Leiden University’s request of 1749 that rarities, herbs, plants and seeds should be collected, for the same reason.<sup>5</sup>

The descriptions of Canton, with information about living, trading and working there, were written by other Europeans.<sup>6</sup> Alongside official records, these publications constitute an important source for later historians engaged in studying the China trade of the various European countries and enable them to paint a detailed picture of the general circumstances under which the trade in Canton was conducted.

As far as the Dutch East India Company is

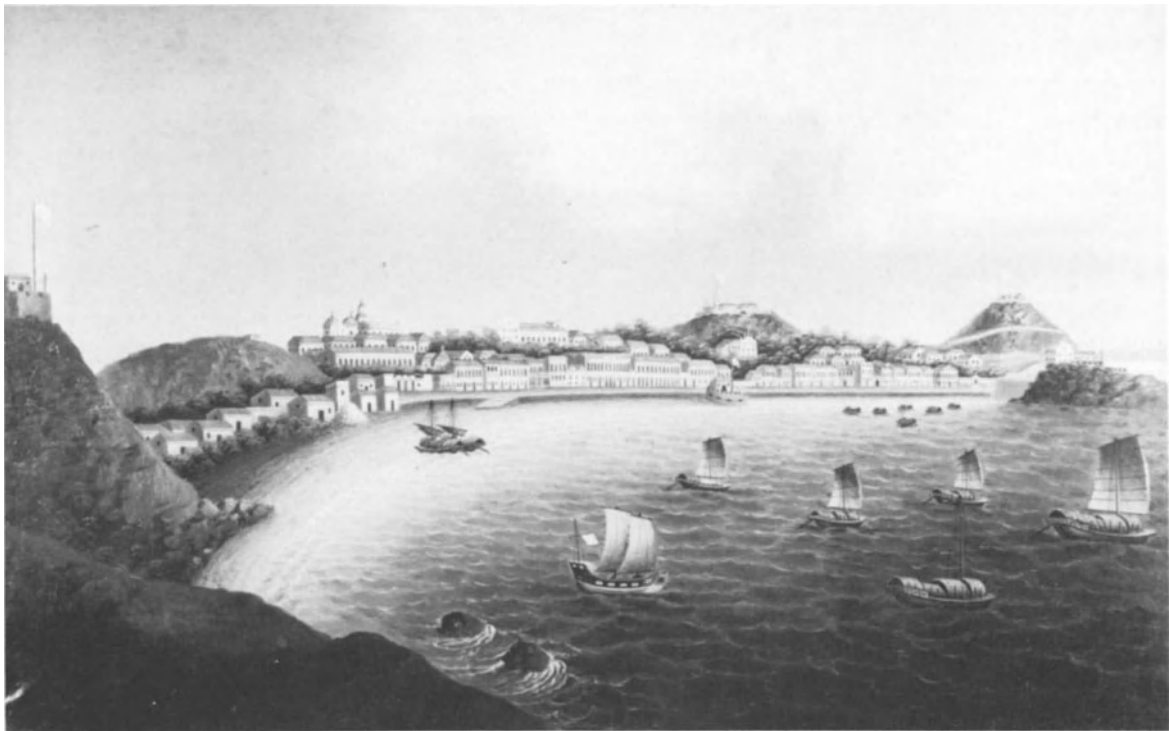


concerned, the information discovered in the archives during the course of this study gives no reason to make any alterations in this picture. Thus in what follows it will be enough to give a brief indication of what the customary state of affairs was, while closer attention will be paid to hitherto unknown details and facts specifically relating to the life and work of the servants of the Dutch Company.

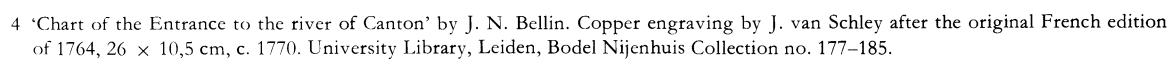
## 2 *The ships*

The ships generally left Batavia in July or sometimes in early August. They sailed north-eastwards via the Banka Straits, taking their direction as far as possible from the various islands and making for the Chinese coast via the

Anambas Islands, Poulo Condoor, the Paracelsus Islands and the Ladrone Islands, until they were finally able to drop anchor in the Macao roadsteads over a month later.<sup>7</sup> (fig. 3). There the captains reported to the Chinese customs, paid the fee for the entry document and hired a pilot. Any supercargos who had remained behind in Macao during the off-season and who had not yet gone on to Canton then came on board and the ships sailed up the river in convoy. On the way they passed the 'Bocca Tigris' or 'The Tiger', a group of rocks at the point where the Pearl River debouches into the Straits of Canton. Twenty tugs pulled each of the ships, which were now difficult to manoeuvre, upstream past Tiger Island, Serpent Island and various forts and customs posts to the lower roads of Whampoa, also known as 'Sout-Sout-Ham'. (fig. 4). Here the ships



3 View of Macao. Oil on canvas 44.5 × 58 cm, Chinese, 1st half of the 19th century. Prince Hendrik Maritime Museum, Rotterdam.



anchored for good, since further upstream the river was too shallow for ships of 140 and 150 foot to be able to reach the quayside at Canton itself (fig. 5).

The ships' officers and crew remained on board and the supercargos transferred to sloops, which carried them in a few hours to the factory thirteen nautical miles further on. During the whole time of the stay in Canton goods and personnel would be conveyed by means of sloops or sampans.

Immediately after a ship's arrival a junk with several Chinese officials would come alongside and remain there until she departed again. These mandarins had the job of checking all outgoing and incoming boats for contraband, with the exception of the captain's sloop, which, if flying a flag, was exempt from inspection.

Life on board, the ships thus lying idle, will have been no joke for the crews in the humid heat. They were only engaged intensively in loading and unloading during the first and last weeks of the stay and the rest of the time had to be spent on repair work, painting and suchlike. For the storage of the ship's ballast, cordage and supplies a so-called 'bankshall' or warehouse on 'Danes' or 'Frenchmens' Island' was used. This was constructed of rattan and bamboo and was rented from the 'comprador'.<sup>8</sup> All sorts of work was done there, including smithery, so, in view of the building materials, it is not surprising that the bankshall and all its stores repeatedly went up in flames. When this happened, a call had to be made on all sides on the fellow feeling of other ships' captains in order to replenish the stocks of wood and cordage again. It sometimes cost the Dutch an immense amount of trouble to obtain anything, but they never met with an outright refusal, for the others might also need help in their turn.

Crew members who had fallen ill could also recuperate in the bankshall but its most important function was that of a tavern, for it had

long been the custom for the compradors to sell strong drink to the seamen, something that was winked at as long as it was kept within reasonable limits. Needless to say, full advantage was taken of this opportunity and drunkenness and criminal behaviour were the inevitable results, the more because other countries also had their bankshalls in the same place. The ships' officers instituted strict rules for the bankshall at regular intervals, but they nearly always turned a blind eye to any infringements, since problems would only have arisen elsewhere with the crew, who had little or nothing to do.

The situation was that Canton, as a free port, was subject to Chinese jurisdiction, but as long as crimes and conflicts only occurred among the Europeans themselves, the Chinese authorities left it to the ships' officers to judge and possibly try the perpetrators. As soon as any Chinese were involved, however, the Chinese demanded the right of jurisdiction and held the company in question responsible for the damage or injury suffered. Thus strict rules had been drawn up for those who went ashore at Canton in order to avoid difficulties as far as possible. A *cause célèbre* occurred in 1743 when a seaman named Jacob Poot quarrelled with a Chinese shopkeeper over the purchase of a bow and arrows. He inflicted a fatal wound on the Chinese with his knife and a furious mob besieged the Dutch factory demanding satisfaction. Remembering the 'massacre of the Chinese' in Batavia several years previously<sup>9</sup>, the supercargos feared for their lives and their goods and handed Poot over to the Chinese officers of the law. He was sentenced to imprisonment, but was released in 1747 by a gracious dispensation of the Emperor. For the remainder of his punishment he received fifty strokes of the cane and was further condemned to stand in the pillory in the open for seventy-five days beside the entrance to the Dutch factory. This last punishment in particular constituted an unacceptable loss of face for the

Company in the eyes of the supercargos and they managed to bring it about that Poot underwent his punishment a little further away, out of their sight. Having survived all that, Poot was freed and sent to Batavia to stand trial again.<sup>10</sup>

Another problem regarding crew and personnel going ashore was that they were liable to pay dues to the Chinese customs on the goods they traded in privately, as well as on the things they bought. If they failed to do so, then the Company was taxed. Thus the subordinate members of the crew were only allowed to go ashore in rotation – Sunday being regarded as a highly suitable day for this – and a check was also made on what they had bought by their own officers when they came back on board again. For the higher ship's officers there were naturally a great many more opportunities for purchasing, but, if it were discovered that smuggling had been going on in respect of goods on which the Chinese had imposed a ban (opium, gold, copper, red and yellow silk textiles), then those goods were confiscated irrespective of who was involved, in theory at any rate.

Discipline was maintained on board ship in a way that seems rigorous nowadays. In 1762 a seaman who had stabbed one of his fellows in the foot with a knife was condemned to death and hanged. The theft of a few pounds of tea was punished by keelhauling, homosexuality by at least a few weeks in the stocks. Another thing that was regarded as a serious offence was desertion, which began to assume serious proportions after 1770 especially. The agreements with the English that deserters should be sent back only rarely produced results, but the Dutch behaved in exactly the same way as regards English seamen, who were available for a small bounty as cheap labour. The ships were sometimes so seriously undermanned, as a result of either desertions or deaths, that Chinese seamen were engaged, who sailed with the ships to the Netherlands and will doubtless have caused quite a sensation there.<sup>11</sup>

Before a ship could be unloaded it had to be 'measured' by the Hoppo, the head of the custom-house.<sup>12</sup> This involved measuring the maximum length and breadth of the vessel and then working out the amount to be paid in dues. It was a ceremonial event which took place a day or two after arrival and is described as follows in an anonymous manuscript of around 1760: '...as soon as the train or procession of the Hoppo appears it is the custom to greet him with a salute from the cannon, to send an officer with a *lingua* (interpreter) to meet him and to pay him the usual compliments... the interpreter gives him the name of the ship from which the officer comes, pays him the compliment and having greeted the Chinese returns to his ship again. As soon as the Hoppo nears the ship, the supercargos receive him on the man-rope or, should he so wish, even in his own galley; having come on board and a second salute having been fired, he sets to work on the measuring and having done the same, he is invited to enter the cabin, where a table of sweetmeats has been prepared; when he has partaken of these, he is always served fine liqueurs; then he goes back on board his galley again and is saluted by the cannon for the third time'.<sup>13</sup>

The Hoppo generally waited until several ships could be dealt with at the same time, before embarking on his measuring. The 'measuring fee' for a 150-foot ship amounted to about 5,600 guilders, while the private gift to the Hoppo was invariably 1,950 taels (roughly 7,020 guilders). After these formalities the compradors and interpreters could apply for the necessary licences for unloading the goods, on the basis of which the import duties were afterwards levied.

After the ship had been unloaded – starting with the chests of money – it was cleaned, caulked where necessary and made ready to receive the cargo. The bottommost timbers in the hold were covered with bamboo mats on

which the heavy ballast was placed. This ballast, which was needed to give the ship the required stability, consisted of pig iron, tin and spelter up to a total weight of around 100,000 pounds for a 150-foot ship. This bottom layer was levelled off with around 150,000 pounds of 'Macao pebbles', river gravel, which was first washed with fresh water in the bankshall and then dried in the sun. This was then covered with mats and planks, leaving a space of around thirteen feet and eight or nine inches between them and the deck-beams. Next was loaded a single layer of 21-inch high chests of porcelain, which had to slope downwards a little at the sides to allow of easy stowage of the tea chests. The loading was done from the centre outwards towards the sides and in the centre were placed the chests containing the porcelain that was filled with sago, which had to be kept as dry as possible. The layer of porcelain was held in place at the sides by 'key-chests' and 'quarter chests' made to measure and the whole thing had to be as smooth as a floor.

After that there was a pause in the work for a while, until the tea arrived in Canton from the country and the exhausting work of stowing the tea chests began. Usually there were placed on top of the layer of porcelain six layers of tea chests, 24 inches high by  $27\frac{1}{2}$  inches long by  $32\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, each of which contained an average of around 80 to 100 pounds of tea, depending on the sort.<sup>14</sup> The space at the sides was filled with half and quarter chests, smaller gaps with bales of nankeen and rattan. Part of the fine tea was stowed in the hold, the rest outside it in the space between decks, part of which was partitioned off for this purpose. The raw silk, the silk textiles, the lacquer work and the drugs found a place in the aft cabin, the gun-room and the companion-ways between decks, where the 'permitted chests' of the officers also stood. Because of its strong smell, the Chinese anise was stowed in the foremost port cabin, as far away as possible from the tea which could easily

take on the odour. The boatswain's store-room, the space at the front of the bow, was filled with bales and bundles of porcelain which suffered little from damp.<sup>15</sup> The arrangement in a fully laden ship is shown on a drawing of 1760 depicting the plan of the hold of the *Ouder Amstel* (Fig. 6). A second drawing, dating from 1773, shows by means of a cross section how a ship ought to be loaded (Fig. 7).

The stowage was in practice the job of the first and second mates and the petty officers. It depended on their skill whether or not the cargo started to shift en route and how much it was possible to take on board.

In the stern the hold was seven inches higher and it was possible to stow extra tea there by placing chests on their sides and filling up small holes and gaps. Thus a lively correspondence ensued between the ships and the quay for the purpose of settling the number and sizes of the chests that could be shipped.<sup>16</sup> In order to gain space, the number of cannon was even reduced to ten, the remainder being left behind in Batavia. Nor does this practice ever seem to have created any problems, despite the notorious piracy in the China Sea and off Madagascar.

The officers certainly did not take all this trouble out of a sense of duty. They did it because the Company had put a bounty on additional weight. For every 10,000 pounds that could be stowed over and above the normal 900,000 pounds capacity of a 150-foot ship, the officers received a bounty of 1,000 guilders, to be divided among them according to rank.<sup>17</sup> When one remembers that the crew also took along a considerable amount of private goods, the space left for them to move around in between decks must certainly have been distinctly cramped.

An interesting object in this connection is a Chinese ivory in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam depicting a sloop in which Europeans are conveying (privately?) pur-



5 View of the Bay of Whampoa. Oil on canvas, 60 × 64 cm, Chinese, 1 st half of the 19th century, Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.

*Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760*

Van Boort

Aan Stuurboort

<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>		<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>	
<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>	<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>	<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>	<p><i>Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760</i></p> <p><i>Van Boort</i></p> <p><i>Aan Stuurboort</i></p>

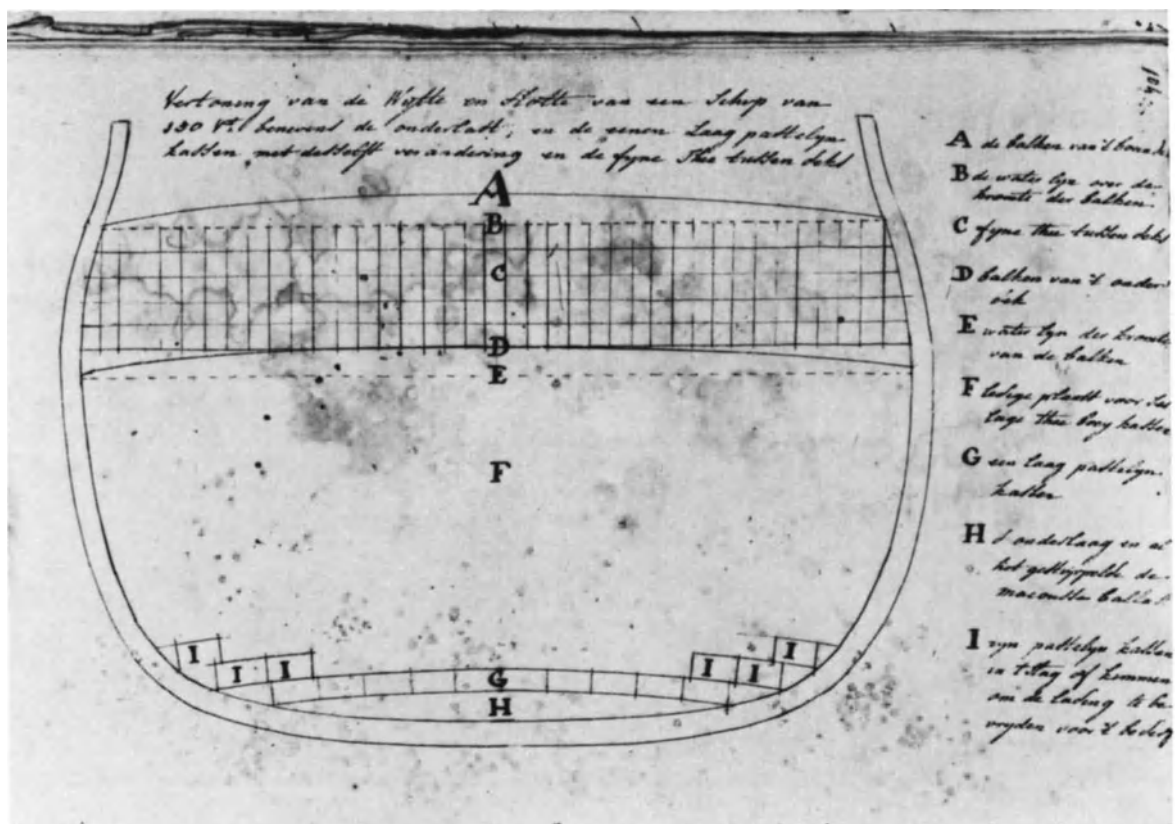
6 'Stowage List of the Company's ship Ouder Amstel Anno 1760'. Pen drawing, 60 × 48 cm. National Archives, V.O.C. 4387.

chased goods, including a large porcelain vase. Since the sloop is painted in the colours of the Dutch flag, we can be certain that the Europeans shown here are servants of the Dutch East India Company (Fig. 8).

The date of the start of the homeward voyage was a perennial subject of argument between the directors on the one hand and the supercargos and ships' captains on the other. The ships had to have passed through the Sunda Straits before the monsoon winds changed round, but at the same time these Straits were considered unnavigable between 30 November and 25 January because of storms. The supercargos preferred to leave Canton as late as possible, so as to be able to buy and load still more

extra tea, especially since the prices fell after the departure of the other ships. They sometimes postponed their own departure until the end of January or beginning of February. But to the directors the risks were more important than a few extra chests of tea and they would rather have had the ships set sail as early as December. What it generally boiled down to was that the ships departed in the first half of January.<sup>18</sup> They usually made their way home independently, albeit they sometimes sailed in convoy if any war danger threatened.

In Appendix 1 is given a list of all the Dutch East India Company ships that called at Canton during the period 1729–94. In it are mentioned all the most important particulars, such as a



7 Sketch for the stowage in a 150-foot ship. Pen drawing, 31 × 20 cm, 1773. National Archives, Archives of the Canton Factory, no. 140.

ship's non- or late arrival in the Netherlands (which is important for working out the statistics regarding the proceeds of the sales), the changing of ships in Batavia or alterations in the destinations. Mention is also made of which ships were lost on the outward or homeward voyage.<sup>19</sup>

### 3 *The factory building*

The European factories were situated in the suburb of Canton, also known as 'Jongsin See Zuan', outside the actual walled town, which Europeans were not allowed to enter. Despite this, however, various views and maps of Canton were published in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, these being based in varying degrees on imagination. (Figs. 9–11). An interesting example, which has never been published before, is to be found in the last part of Van Braam Houckgeest's manuscript about his journey to Peking.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, the bottom piece, showing the factory sites, has been torn

off (Fig. 12). Since the set up in the first half of the nineteenth century was scarcely any different from that in the eighteenth century, a nineteenth-century English map of Canton showing the factories is also illustrated here (Fig. 13).

In addition to the Dutch East India Company, the English, French, Danes, Swedes and other Europeans also had factories and warehouses, while most of the important Chinese merchants likewise had their 'hongs' or warehouses here. The most imposing buildings were those immediately on the quay, which was widened and paved in 1761. The streets and alleyways behind, especially the celebrated old China Street, New China Street and Hog Lane, bristled with little shops, workplaces, stalls and hovels, where everything that might appeal to seamen on shore leave or factors on the lookout was made and offered for sale.

The factory of the Dutch East India Company, known among the Chinese merchants as 'the Hong of Justice', was situated on the quay next to the 'old' English factory. There exist numerous views of the building, as it ap-



8 Ivory plaque with a representation of three Europeans in a sloop engaged in loading Chinese goods. Remains of red and blue painting, 7 × 16 cm, Canton, 1st half of the 18th century. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

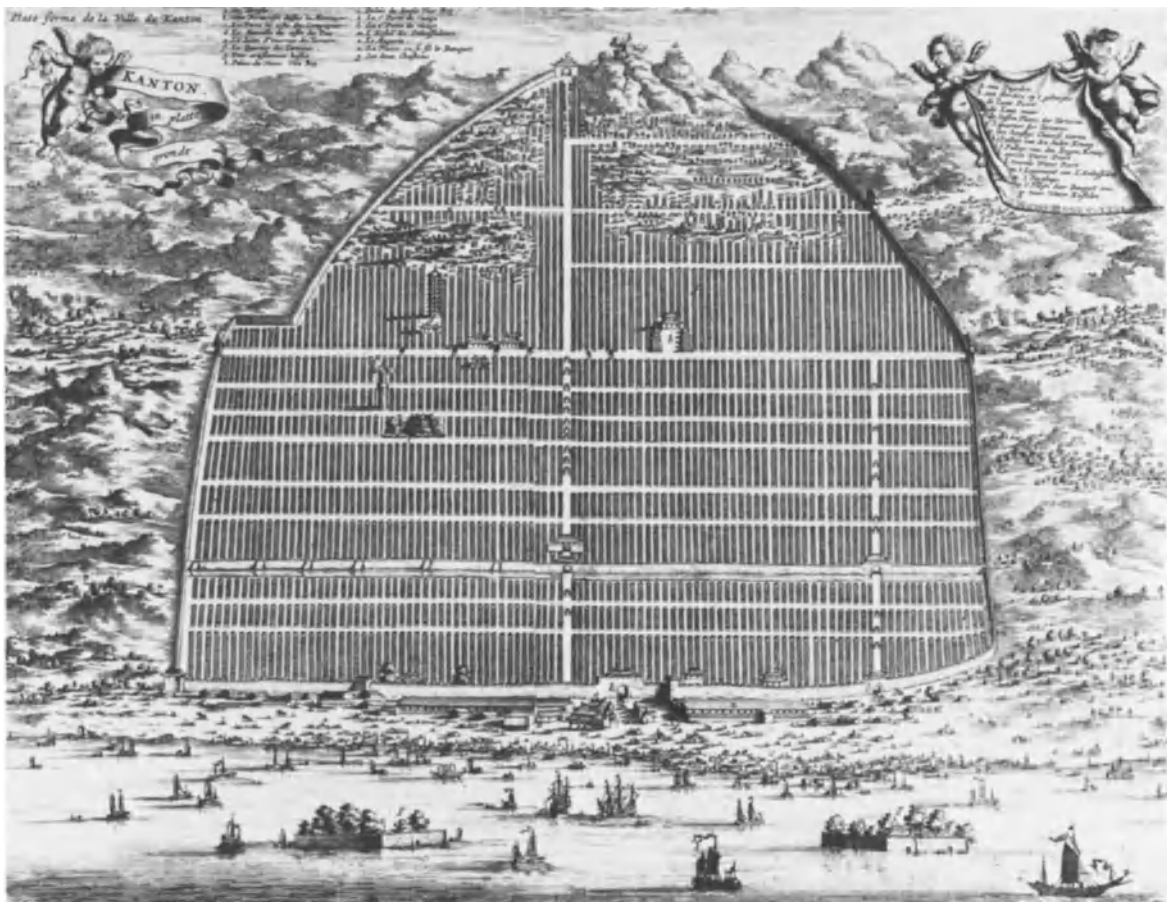


*Life and trade in Canton*

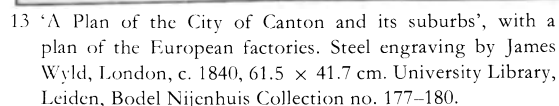
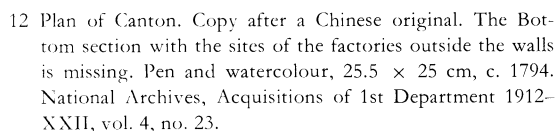
9 View of Canton. Pen and gouache on paper, 65 × 44 cm, 2nd half of the 17th century. National Archives, Leuven Collection (Supplement) no. 619-42.



10 View of Canton. Copper engraving from J. Nieuhof, *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie*, etc., Amsterdam 1665, 29.7 × 18.8 cm.



11 'Plan of Canton'. Copper engraving from J. Nieuhof, *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie*, etc., Amsterdam 1665, 29.8 × 19 cm.



peared from the water, painted by Chinese artists on silk, paper, porcelain and canvas and behind glass.<sup>21</sup> The paintings reproduced in Figs. 14–17 are typical examples. The Dutch factory was marked not only by its flag, but also by the long narrow veranda projecting in front of it, which afforded a pleasing view over the water. It looked out over the busy Pearl river and the two forts therein, known as the ‘French Folly’ and the ‘Dutch Folly’ respectively, in which customs posts were established (Fig. 18). A certain amount of confusion reigns in the literature over this building. It is generally accepted that in 1749 the Dutch East India Company acquired a permanent building of its own, but that is not true.<sup>22</sup> No more than any of the other Companies did the Dutch ever possess a factory, since non-Chinese were prohibited from owning property. Thus right from the start the supercargos had to rent a factory. During the period of direct trade from 1729–34 a different factory or factories, warehouses with living quarters, were each year rented anew. As early as 1731 the first supercargo, Gerard de Bock, suggested that a building should be rented on a permanent basis, so that the supercargos could remain there during the off-season and buy in goods more cheaply,<sup>23</sup> but this was not followed up and each year on their departure the supercargos had to give the furniture and other goods and chattels into the keeping of a comprador or trader, who looked after it until the Dutch came to trade again.<sup>24</sup>

In 1731 three ships arrived and it proved impossible to find a factory that was large enough. The Amsterdam supercargos rented one for 2,100 guilders, while the Zeelanders found accommodation elsewhere. In 1733 the Dutch even rented three factories at a cost of 1,400 guilders, one for the *Voorduijn*, one for the *Leijduin* and one for the Zeelanders.

In 1736, the first year that the China trade came under Batavia's management, we also hear for the first time of 'the factory situated



14 View of the European factories at Canton. Painting on silk, 295 × 96 cm, Canton, c. 1760–70. Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.

15 Detail of fig. 14 with the Dutch factory.



next to that of the English', which was rented from the merchant Tan Honqua for 2,100 guilders. From the site mentioned it can, indeed, be taken that this is the building which, with repeated rebuildings and alterations, did duty until the 19th century as factory and as consulate, the more because from this point onwards the rent for the factory was invariably paid to Tan Honqua and the successors to his rights. But just how powerless the Dutch East India Company was to assert any right of ownership or even a mere common law right is clear from the fact that in 1741 the 'old factory' had already been rented out when the ships arrived later than usual, and the disgruntled supercargos had to make do with another building. An engraving of the factories reproduced by Morse serves to give some idea of the outside of the building at this time: it shows simple, one-storey brick buildings in an obvious European style.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 19).

In 1748 a great fire broke out in Canton and it has been assumed that all the factories were reduced to ashes at that time and rebuilt in the style in which they appear in prints, watercolours, etc. of after 1750.<sup>26</sup> However, as far as the Dutch factory is concerned, that was certainly not the case. No mention is made of rebuilding in documents of 1748. Moreover, in 1750 the supercargos complained that they were suffering great annoyance from white ants and that the building was leaky and so dilapidated that they did not dare to take possession of it any longer, and it is unlikely that this criticism concerned a building newly erected in 1748. The then owner, the merchant Chemqua, paid heed to the complaints. In 1750–1 he had the building refurbished and 'enlarged certainly by a third', at which time it was also extended 'towards the river'.<sup>27</sup> It was probably then that the open veranda was built and the factory acquired the appearance known from the representations. Naturally, after this renovation the rent was raised and a lease was signed at 3,500

guilders a year, with the proviso that the Company should be responsible for the upkeep and minor repairs.

In 1753 Chemqua went bankrupt and the factory became the property of Tswaa Suiqua, nick-named 'Lofty', who after a great deal of negotiation agreed to the Dutch East India Company's being allowed to continue renting the building. The supercargos were greatly cheered by this, for in contrast to other Companies, which were obliged to rent separate warehouses for every two or three ships, they could 'carry on the business for seven ships satisfactorily there... No other quarters are a third as big.'<sup>28</sup> On their departure for Batavia the men left their goods and chattels behind in the factory under the care of a comprador. In the early 1750's in particular detailed inventories were drawn up in connection with this, in which all the documents present in the office were also listed. Although they concern only Company property and not the private possessions of the supercargos, they do nonetheless give an idea of how the factory was furnished and for this reason the inventory of 1755 is included here as Appendix 3.



16 View of the European factories at Canton. Gouache on silk, 60 × 41 cm, Canton, c. 1780–5. Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam.

In 1756 on Batavia's orders the lease was terminated and all the effects sold. This clearly demonstrates the ill-feeling aroused by the Company's decision to remove the China trade from the supervision of the *Hoge Regering* (see p. 34). In 1757 the Amsterdam supercargos rented a small hong for 4,000 guilders, but the following year they decided to take 'the old factory' of Lofty Suiqua again after all. He, meanwhile, had doubled his price and now asked, and got, 7,000 a year.

In 1760 some repairs were done, the comprador providing the workpeople and materials as usual.<sup>29</sup> In 1762 the supercargos drew up the following resolution, which is cited here in full, since it clearly reveals the sort of way in which negotiations were generally conducted and what importance the supercargos attached to precisely this factory: 'With this in view we had been bent each day on renting a factory and had found none other vacant and inhabitable than the old Dutch factory, but the present owner Tjobqua (being the third brother of the deceased Tswaa Suiqua) demanded 1900 rials and in addition he also wanted to keep the use of a back room which faces our factory and had been kept in part by his predecessor in the years 1760 and 1761 as quarters for his clerks and domestics, the which we turned down out of hand, since not only does this destroy our privacy, but it is also dangerous on account of fire, for the Chinese smoke tobacco and boil water for tea all day long. We further offered him, in view of the many repairs we had had to do to the factory, 1600 rials and we also offered to take the factory for 5 years, for one thing because we are afraid that if we should have done any repairs, which are generally quite unavoidable and impossible to put off, he would be sure to raise the rent the next year, since with more facilities it would then be easier to find takers for the factory. For another thing there is no factory here that is so spacious, so well situated and in all respects so suitable for the business of

this Company as precisely this one and so we would be doing no wrong were we to rent it for ten years, for even if the Worshipful Company gives orders for the arrangement here to be broken off, this factory will nonetheless always remain just as necessary for the ships that come and go each year. But he, Tjobqua, stood firm on his demand, although he has this evening let us know that he is still willing to give it to us for 1900 rials and in addition to put the back room at our disposal, provided we pay him the year's rent in advance. And because, since we have not been able to find any other factory, we must certainly give way to him somewhat, also because it really would be worth rather more rent, if not so much repair work needed to be done on it, we have thus resolved to offer him tomorrow up to 1800 rials, provided he will rent it to us for the period of 5 years'.<sup>30</sup>

In the end a rent of 1,800 rials (6,300 guilders) was agreed on for one year, but the supercargos were given a guarantee that the factory would also be put at the Company's disposal in the years that followed. During the succeeding months a great many repairs were done to the warehouses which had been attacked by white ants. In addition the living quarters were rebuilt 'entirely to the taste and comfort' of the supercargos, for the factory would now be in use in the off-season as well. The total costs came to over 16,500 guilders, of which the Company paid a third and the new owner, the Hong merchant Inksja, the remainder.

As early as 1767 further rebuilding was done. Among other things, this concerned 'the so-called dining room of the factory on the water side, this because this part with its wings (the veranda?) was not only just smeared over a bit in the Chinese style in the year 1763 and is now leaky and dilapidated on all sides again, but also because no more than the dining rooms in all the other factories was it arranged as living quarters; while we meanwhile, expecting such a large number of commercial servants, did not

know where to accommodate them all, which has brought this work, that was on the other hand quite unavoidable, forward by a year'.<sup>31</sup> The total rebuilding costs this time were 5,328 guilders. That there was indeed a lack of space is clear from a comparison with the English, who at that time had two factories for 22 men, and the French, who put up 10 men in their factory, while the Dutch factory had to accommodate 40 people!<sup>32</sup>

In 1772 the back part of the factory, which had up to then been in use by the merchant and former owner Tjobqua, became vacant. Inksja gave his consent to the Company's renting it as well, on condition that 'he should not be burdened with any payments for repairs or alterations since the buildings of the Europeans were so different from the Chinese taste that, if in future such accommodation were to be given up and rented to Chinese, everything would have to be completely altered and remodelled again'.<sup>33</sup> The directors in the Netherlands were asked to give their permission for this back section to be converted into a warehouse for the storage of tea. A design of the proposed rebuilding, drawn by A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, was sent along with this request and has been preserved (Fig. 20). It clearly

shows the arrangement of the section between the back of the factory building and the street. In the northern part, on the street side, were some rooms that could be used as living quarters by the comprador, who could thus at the same time keep an eye on the back gate. The 'open places' mentioned under A and G served 'for the necessary convenience' of the inhabitants of the downstairs rooms at the very back of the factory, which cannot have been particularly hygienic so close to the kitchens. On the drawing is also given a rough sketch in pencil of the arrangement of the first floor of warehouse H, which it was planned to turn into a dining room and living accommodation for ships' officers on shore leave. There was also another storey above the storerooms (I), the floors of which were so high that there was no danger of flooding at high water.<sup>34</sup>

Without waiting for approval from the Netherlands, hard teak wood was brought over from Batavia and the rebuilding was completed by the end of 1772. Thus there was great consternation among the supercargos when, in 1774, the directors condemned this arbitrary action, rejected the rent and the rebuilding and tried to make the supercargos pay the costs incurred.<sup>35</sup> In later years too rebuilding and alterations were regularly carried out, but the external appearance of the factory was not radically changed by them.

Despite the detailed information available about such repair work, we still do not know enough to be able to sketch the exact arrangement of the inside of the factory. However, it is possible to say roughly where the most important rooms were situated. The actual entrance to the factory was at the back, where a gateway in the wall gave access to the street. The back portion of the factory with the warehouses has already been described above. The form of the roof of the actual factory building shows that it lay at right angles to this back section, parallel to the quay. The veranda or gallery at the front



17 View of the European factories at Canton. Oil on copper, 14 x 10.5 cm, Canton, c. 1810. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

was not situated in the centre of the façade, but on the extreme right, as seen from the water. To the left of it can be seen on numerous representations a wide façade with large windows and a balustrade or balcony supported by two stone columns with wooden capitals. As is also clear from the arrangement of the fences in front of the building, the factory abutted directly on to the veranda of the English factory next door. The building next door to the factory on the right is a hong, which in 1785 belonged to the merchant Pinqua and in the years before then had also been used by Chinese merchants.

On the ground floor of the factory was the 'strongroom', where the chests of silver were kept, and the secretary's office, where the clerks and bookkeepers did the clerical work and where the correspondence, the resolutions, the General Reports, the Journals and the Judicial Papers of many years were kept. Also on the ground floor was the 'commercial office', where the business transactions took place, payments were made and all the documents directly relating to the trade were kept, such as the day-books and ledgers, the books of incoming, outgoing and settled claims, the unloading books, invoices and suchlike. There was also at least one large meeting room and probably a smaller one as well, an office for the director or first supercargo and, at the back, some private rooms for the supercargos.

On the first floor there was a large dining room on the waterside with the balcony in front of the windows. The verandah was also accessible from this floor. In addition there was a storeroom, a winter room with two 'English fireplaces' – for it could also be cold in Canton if one remained behind in the off-season – and at least fourteen private rooms for the supercargos, the assistants and the bookkeepers. In view of the large staff, areas will certainly also have been partitioned off under the sloping roof, for the valets and servants for example.

## 4 *Daily life*

In default of private diaries and letters, we have to fall back on the scant information in the records to gain an idea of daily life in and around the factory. According to two memoranda of 1760, the day began at 6 o'clock with prayers, which everyone was compelled to attend.<sup>36</sup> Then came breakfast with rolls, radishes and bananas. There were three sittings for meals: the 'first table' was for the cadre, namely the supercargos, the highest ranking assistants, the ships' captains or mates and guests; the second for lesser members of staff such as the remaining assistants, the usher, the commander of the watch, the medical orderly and any petty-officers who happened to be at the factory; the third for the lowest ranks: the watch, the cook, the steward, the European servants and any low-ranking warrant-officers present.

Around twelve noon the 'first table' had a hot midday meal. The domestic account-books, in which daily purchases were posted, show that the menu was exceptionally varied: a great deal of meat, fish, poultry and fresh vegetables and fruit.<sup>37</sup> On weekdays four bottles of red wine and six bottles of beer were provided, on Sundays two bottles extra. However, a good punch of arrack (rice spirits) was always required to be on hand. Pastry, blancmange and suchlike were served as desserts. The table napkins were changed every day, the tablecloth every other day. Silver cutlery was used, naturally with porcelain tableware. The 'second table' ate half an hour earlier, around half past eleven. Here there were no table napkins and a clean tablecloth only twice a week. The main course was the same, but a dessert was only served on Sundays, while during the week punch was the only drink provided and on Sundays three bottles of wine. Each person had to provide his own cutlery. The 'third table' got what was left over from the others. This was not enough, however, so each man was given a



weekly ration of three-quarters of a pound of bacon and three-quarters of a pound of meat, supplemented by as much rice as he wanted, rolls and curried fish. Each man was also allowed one jug of arrack a week for the punch.

The 'second table' ate again around half past seven in the evening, the first around eight o'clock, the meal this time consisting of what was left over from the midday meal and dessert, plus rolls.

In general the steward was required 'to provide for the table as economically as is feasible but to make sure that the first is always so laid that the men have a variety of dishes and need not feel ashamed before an unexpected guest', rank and standing being emphasised here. Supercargos who were ill could send their valets to fetch a meal for them, since meals were not served in the private rooms. Between meals people followed the custom of the country and drank tea.

At ten o'clock at night the factory was shut and all Chinese present had to leave. There will have been a change in this respect after 1772, when the comprador and permanent Chinese personnel were given living quarters at the back of the premises near the gate. The big bell by the gate was rung and the day ended with prayers. After that the gate was opened for no-one without special permission.

In 1760, when these memoranda were drawn up, the factory's complement comprised four supercargos, five assistants, two clerks, one steward, one cook, seven valets, one usher, one medical orderly, one nightwatchman, one drummer and twelve seamen. Different rules will certainly have been instituted for the much larger staff of later years, but the general arrangement of the day and the strict hierarchy will undoubtedly have been maintained.

The security of the factory constituted a separate problem. During the period when the trade was under Batavia's management and from 1761 to 1773 a military guard was taken

along from Batavia, consisting of a corporal, twelve men and a drummer.<sup>38</sup> In other years seamen were used to guard the goods in store. There was a permanent garrison and sentries were posted day and night on the water side, at the gateway to the street and outside the door of the first supercargo or director. The entire watch was drawn up and inspected at eight o'clock in the morning and evening. The corporal had strict instructions to ensure that the men did not come on duty improperly dressed or unkept and to this end they were issued with clothing and soap. He was forbidden to hit or abuse his men in the presence of Chinese, so as not to damage the image of the Europeans as a group. The security measures taken were evidently effective, since no mention is ever made of large-scale thefts.

In addition to the Dutch, there were also Chinese in the factory, during the daytime anyway. The comprador engaged permanent or temporary workpeople such as coolies, a cook and a cook's mate, a barber, the interpreter or *lingua*, carpenters, bricklayers, painters and the water carrier. With so many people in a single building problems could not be avoided. The Dutch had strict orders not to hit the Chinese workpeople, but to take any complaints that might arise to the comprador.

An insight into the relations between the Dutch themselves and their conduct towards one another can be gained from the 'Rules and Regulations for the Servants of the Trade' of 1789, where the way in which people ought to behave is set out in eleven articles.<sup>39</sup> No swearing, no smoking in the warehouses, keeping good company (and above all avoiding too close contact with subordinates!), moderation in drinking, neatness in dress and being home by ten in the evening – all this is spelled out. Two of the articles raise a smile: article 4. 'The servants must leave off writing all sorts of lewd and offensive words on the glass of the doors and windows both in the rooms in which they



live and in the public dining rooms', and article 7. 'Everyone must take great care both during the day and after ten o'clock in the evening to engage in no rowdiness in the factory at Canton or in the Company's house in Macao, such as playing French horns or clarinets, much less drumming or letting off firecrackers or other fireworks, which can not only cause accidents, but also because such behaviour is very disturbing and very damaging and harmful to the sick and bedridden in particular'.

In addition there also existed the unwritten social rules of the period in which, above all, one's place in the hierarchy and the impression one made on outsiders were of the utmost importance, particularly in such strange surroundings. The rank of principal factor, for example, imposed on its holder quite a different lifestyle from that of a bookkeeper. This finds striking expression in the inventories made after the deaths of Company servants of their possessions, which were put up for auction. A seaman or a boatswain's mate seldom owned more than his wearing apparel, while an usher had rather more possessions, but the list of objects that the assistant François Hélène van Eijmbeek, who died in 1768, had in his rooms at the factory fills several pages.<sup>40</sup> It is striking for the enormous amount of fashionable clothing and the accessories to go with it, the quantities of furniture and the extensive private wine cellar. It also includes porcelain for daily use, such as 3 cuspidors, 1 chamberpot, a porcelain tobacco box with silver mounts, a *gorgolet* (water-bottle) and stand, 3 flat candlesticks, tea-things, punch-bowls and other tableware. Van Eijmbeek had surrounded himself with all sorts of knick-knacks, such as '46 small coloured pictures in lacquered frames', '6 little portraits of women painted on glass', 8 wineglasses decorated with symbols of Freemasonry and 4 flutes, including two Chinese flutes. His collection of books is also interesting. It naturally included the Bible, as well as a French-Dutch dictionary and a man-

ual for seamen. In addition there was *Le Mille et une Nuit* in six volumes and other light reading of an erotic cast, 'some comedies' in three volumes and one or two theological works. He further possessed 617 guilders in ready money and all his possessions together fetched a total of 1,980 guilders at the sale.

This assistant did not own a slave, but it was not unusual for the supercargos to own one. In 1755 the Principal set a limit on the number of slaves any one man might own, because the factory was threatening to become overpopulated.<sup>41</sup> Those who had no slave often took on a Chinese or Portuguese servant from Macao, and in the 1780's it became customary for them to have these servants taken on the Company's strength when they went home, in order to ensure that they were looked after properly on the homeward voyage as well.<sup>42</sup>

Because of the tropical climate of Canton and the lack of hygiene both on board ship and in the factory, illness was very common. There were many complaints about gout, dysentery and 'nervous diseases' in particular. Sometimes real epidemics occurred, which resulted in many deaths in a few weeks, decimating the crews of the ships in particular. The ship's surgeon was responsible for medical care and he had a reasonable supply of medicaments at his disposal,<sup>43</sup> but in the factory this task was often taken over by the usher or steward, whose well-meant efforts will not always have been very effective. For lingering illnesses a spell at the Cape – or returning home for good – was regarded as the last resort. The directors nearly always gave their consent when anyone asked for temporary leave of absence on this account, but only a few ever made use of it, because although they kept their rank, they lost their salary. Repatriation for health reasons was more common. For some the delays in communication proved fatal, for the second supercargo E. van Karnebeek, for example, who asked to be sent home in 1784, but who died in

Macao in 1785 at the age of forty from 'nervous diseases and attacks'.<sup>44</sup>

When anyone died, his possessions were realized and the costs of the coffin, funeral and gravestone were paid for out of the proceeds.<sup>45</sup> The remainder was put into a credit account for the relatives. Europeans were buried on Frenchman's Island in the bay of Whampoa, where they had a cemetery of their own, but those without means were buried at sea.

The deceased's post was automatically taken over by the next person below him in rank, who did not neglect to inform the directors of this at length, with much emphasis on his own qualities. He also immediately put in a request to be allowed to take on the post officially and to enjoy the bounty and salary belonging to it. Sometimes the *Heeren XVII* refused, which could give rise to considerable bitterness. This was the case with Peter Kintsius, who took over the tasks of the deceased director Jan Elin for three years from 1776, but who was nonetheless passed over in 1779 when the directors appointed Cornelis Heijligendorp director. This man had never worked as a supercargo in China and it would be interesting to know whether he had acquired the necessary experience elsewhere, or whether he was given this important post as a favour from a high quarter.

In addition to the internal code of conduct – written and unwritten – the lives of the Dutch, like those of the other Europeans, were also rigidly circumscribed by the conditions the Chinese authorities had drawn up for the sojourn of the *Fan kwae*, the 'Foreign Devils'. The regulations of 1760, drawn up on the occasion of the establishment of the Co Hong (See p. 66) are generally known: no-one was permitted to stay in Canton in the off-season, European women were not allowed, journeys into the interior were prohibited, trade could be conducted only in Canton and the Europeans were only allowed to live and work in the suburb. These rulings were a recapitulation of

earlier ones, but they were now more rigorously enforced.<sup>46</sup> All the same, it was again possible in 1763 for people to stay on far into the off-season and Van Braam Houckgeest includes in his account of his journey reminiscences of the trips he made around 1770 into the hills to the north-east of Canton.<sup>47</sup>

In the years before 1760 European women, including Dutchwomen, do seem to have been taken to Canton occasionally, but this was certainly not the general rule. A. E. van Braam Houckgeest mentions that the last Dutchman to do this was the first supercargo G. Roberts, who took his wife and two daughters to the factory with him in 1751. The Chinese were furious at this, however, and he was compelled to obey their orders and move the women to Macao at once.<sup>48</sup>

From 1750 to 1757 and after 1763 a number of supercargos and assistants remained in Canton in the off-season and, having concluded their business, awaited the arrival of the fresh ships in Macao, where the Company had a rented house (Fig. 21). As a result they sometimes went for years without seeing their families, friends and acquaintances. Letters to the directors sometimes betray homesickness or concern over estrangement and express a longing to be able to enjoy the fruits of labour in retirement in the Netherlands. Requests for repatriation for personal reasons of this kind were usually granted, but because of the slow communications it then took two years for certain before the petitioner could actually depart. No-one ever asked to be released from the Company's service, for that involved placing one's bounties and good name at risk.

A few who could afford it and who had their families in Batavia tried to solve these problems by bringing their wives, and sometimes even their eldest children, to Macao and having them live there. Others took mistresses in Macao. This sometimes resulted in marriage and that could lead to difficulties, because the woman

was nearly always a Roman Catholic and the marriage had to be solemnized by a priest. A 'Roman' wedding did no-one's career any good in the Republic. Van Braam Houckgeest wrote about cases of this kind in his staff reports: 'Benthem, Tros and Melander have married whores in Macao and have thus had to become Roman Catholics, thus bringing dishonour to the Company'.<sup>49</sup> Partly because of this Tros received his dismissal, but Benthem managed to get his marriage legalized by the Trade Council in Canton. In the same letter Van Braam Houckgeest asked the Committee to draw up rules, 'so that ill-advised young men would not plunge forever into the sea of misery to which their animal passions foolishly carry them. For what is, indeed, to be expected of someone who sacrifices his honour and reputation, yea even his God Himself, to a whore'. Just how hypocritical this attitude was is clear from a letter from I. Titsingh to Nederburgh in Batavia, in which he tells how Van Braam Houckgeest had a liaison with a married woman in Macao and how he resorted to bribery to get her out of the prison for prostitutes.<sup>50</sup>

Naturally many of these private matters are not mentioned in the official documents and we have still less information about the way in which the Europeans tried to escape from their enforced celibacy during their stay in Canton. That use was made of the discreet mediation of the comprador goes without saying. There were enough 'red pavilions' in the suburb of Canton, while the 'flower boats', floating and sometimes extremely luxurious brothels, constituted a famous attraction peculiar to Canton.<sup>51</sup> Officially the Europeans were forbidden to have contacts with Chinese women. That this ban could be enforced if it so suited the mandarins is clear from a note of 1791: three officers from the *Blitterswijk* were taken into custody at that time by the Chinese officers of the law, because they had been discovered in the company of 'Chinese females'. The Company

hastened to buy them off at all speed for 700 rials (1,862 guilders) and this sum was deducted from the pay of the three gentlemen in question, making it an expensive escapade.<sup>52</sup>

Other opportunities for relaxation were offered by the official visits that had to be made between the various factories and the contacts the Europeans had among themselves. In time of war, for example during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, mutual relations were strained, but because Canton was a free port, the situation never developed into open conflict.

It was also possible to take a breather in Honan, a narrow strip of land along the river opposite Canton. Here numerous Chinese merchants had not only offices and warehouses, but also residences and country houses. There were three fine pagodas and splendid gardens, that of the Hong merchant Bouquiqua being particularly celebrated. The supercargos were invited there every now and then for a party, a meal or fireworks on such occasions as the Chinese New Year, the Emperor's birthday or other ceremonies. The 'Chinese comedies' performed at such times were not so highly thought of, especially not when they went on for an interminably long time, for it was impossible to leave early without offending one's host.

Finally, there was drink as a way of escape from reality. The number of official complaints about open drunkenness among officers, assistants and even supercargos is legion and that certainly provides some indication of the tensions people lived under. However, no case of suicide is known among the Dutch like that of a French supercargo in 1786, because he could not buy in enough tea.

Private letters to Batavia, the Cape, the Netherlands and other destinations were sent on departing ships of both the Dutch East India Company and other Companies, but official reports and suchlike were only allowed to be sent on the Dutch company's own ships, to ensure secrecy.

## 5 *Relations with the Chinese merchants and mandarins*

An important factor in the trade structure that the Dutch had to contend with in Canton in the 18th century was the Co Hong, the now well-known 'guild' of merchants, which was the only body authorized to trade with the European Companies. There exists an extensive literature on the Co Hong,<sup>53</sup> so that it is no longer necessary to go into all the details here, but there are some aspects that do merit attention nonetheless.

The establishment of the Co Hong in 1720 is often seen as an innovation, a reaction on the part of the Chinese merchants to the growth in the trade with the Europeans. By working together in a single organization they were able to cope with this more effectively, so it is said. But Canton as a trading centre had already long had a number of firms called 'Hong', which tried to exercise a monopoly over various branches of trade. The individual members of the Hong were known as 'Hong merchants' or, to the Dutch, 'Hangisten'.<sup>54</sup> The Hong were closely linked to the machinery of government. It did not suit highly placed officials, as men of letters, to involve themselves directly in trade, since merchants as a class had a low status in society, but they did have the power to grant licences and the duty to raise taxes. Thus they picked out merchants from the Hong, who were given the privilege of working under their protection and with their support. These merchants functioned as mediators between the remaining merchants in the Hong in question and the authorities. They occupied a position of power, but at the same time they were responsible for the way the trade was conducted and for the taxation yields. The English were later to refer to them as 'King's merchants' or 'Great Mandarins' merchants'.<sup>55</sup>

At the time of the Emperor Wan Li

(1573–1619) thirty-six Hong are already recorded in Canton, in the important iron and timber trades in particular. When Formosa was incorporated into the Chinese Empire in 1684 and overseas trade was permitted again, the government set up new tax offices for it and appointed privileged merchants for this trade in time-honoured fashion. They are mentioned in Canton in 1687 under the name of the 'Thirteen Hong'. When the French and the English began trading in Canton around 1700, they had to deal with these merchants as well as with various 'King's merchants', who might, for example, possess a licence for the export of salt and who now wanted to annexe the lucrative trade with the Europeans. In the power struggle that followed, the balance swung in 1704 in favour of the merchants of the 'Thirteen Hong', who were supported by the Hoppo and other high mandarins directly involved in the trade in Canton.<sup>56</sup>

In 1720 after the death of the Hong merchant Linqua, one of the most important members of the 'Thirteen Hong', the remaining merchants reorganized themselves, setting up a new body under the name Co Hong.<sup>57</sup> The aim was to monopolize the trade with the Europeans still further by a system of fixed price agreements. In order to compel merchants who were not members to keep to these prices, they had the authorities promulgate a number of official trade regulations. Strong protests were made against this elimination of free competition by the English and, of course, also by those Chinese merchants who were affected by it. In 1721 the Co Hong was officially dissolved again, but separate Hong naturally continued to exist for the foreign trade. The Europeans kept the freedom to trade with whomever they wished, whether he was a Hong merchant or not, on condition that a Hong merchant was chosen as 'fiador' or guarantor for the trade as a whole. This was strictly enforced. It had the advantage for the authorities that in the case of problems

arising over supplies or the payment of taxes one man acted as contact and could be held personally responsible.

In 1736 too an attempt on the part of the Hong merchants – twenty are recorded at that time – to enforce price agreements arrived at among themselves came to nothing.<sup>58</sup> The Europeans wanted to maintain ‘free trade’, because it enabled them, when buying tea, silk and gold in particular, to come into contact via smaller merchants, with suppliers ‘from the interior’, whose goods were sometimes cheaper than those of the Hong merchants. The Hong merchants, on the other hand, were opposed to the free choice of merchant, because they, as guarantors, were held responsible by the government for the taxes on all the goods bought from and by the Europeans, including merchandise that had not passed through their hands. In 1754–5 they seem to have bribed the Hoppo and the ‘Tsjontok’ (also known as the ‘viceroy’, the highest civil official in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi<sup>59</sup>) to promulgate an edict whereby all trade with the European Companies (but not the private trade) was assigned to six Hong merchants who were mentioned by name.<sup>60</sup> Strong protests from the European supercargos prevented this from being put into practice, but the non-Hong merchants were obliged from then onwards to buy a ‘sjap’ or licence for each transaction with a Company, in which the taxes were taken into account. This naturally affected the prices, while the burden of taxation in Canton was already high even without that. The ‘measuring’ of the ships and the ‘gift’ to the Hoppo soon amounted to 13,000 guilders per ship, while taxes were raised on the imported as well as the exported goods. Because of this the English increasingly turned their attention to Ningpo (Limpo) and Chusan on the coast of Chekiang, where the taxes were considerably lower and the tea and silk producing areas nearer, so that these commodities could be

bought more cheaply. These attempts to conduct part of the trade outside Canton were successful and at the outset few impediments were put in the way of the English.<sup>61</sup>

However, this changed when the English supercargo James Flint succeeded in having a protest note served on the Court in Peking over the heads of the provincial authorities, in which he complained about the conditions of trade in both Canton and Ningpo.<sup>62</sup> The Court sent the mandarins Xin Zhu and Chao Kuan to Canton to investigate the matter and in 1759 Xin Zhu, probably under the influence of the Tsjontok, presented a report to the Emperor.<sup>63</sup> A decisive factor was that the Court now realised that there was too little control over the comings and goings of the Europeans in South China and that the economic position of Canton was threatened.<sup>64</sup> The Hoppo was dismissed, several misunderstandings cleared out of the way and the whole of the foreign trade subjected to strict regulations. One of those regulations was the reinstatement of the Co Hong, which was now really able to monopolize all trade negotiations with the European Companies, with the exception of the trade in porcelain and minor commodities such as lacquerwork, ivory, fans, painted wallpaper, etc., which was regarded as marginal. One important aspect of this was that although the eleven members of the Co Hong were certainly allowed to operate independently in accordance with the prices they had agreed among themselves, they all acted as guarantors for each other financially. Apart from Canton, all Chinese ports were declared prohibited territory for the Europeans, while limitations were also imposed on their stay in Canton. This time the strong protests were of no avail and the Europeans had perforce to accept the situation.<sup>65</sup>

In this Co Hong the Hoppo and the Tsjontok acquired an organization through which they could not only exercise much more effective control and raise taxes, but also further their

own advantage. The extending of the necessary co-operation and the readiness to overlook things came more and more to depend on whether or not the Co Hong offered the appropriate 'gifts' to the authorities at the appropriate times. These consisted not only of European rarities such as clocks, watches and other mechanical devices,<sup>66</sup> but also and especially of ready money. The complaints of the Hong merchants about the heavy 'exactions' are legion and this is understandable when one reads that, for example, in 1793 a Hoppo had 'earned' over a million taels (over 3,600,000 guilders) from his post.<sup>67</sup> In addition the Hong merchants were compelled to contribute towards the costs of military expeditions, to buy rice in the Philippines in time of famine and to gladden the Emperor with gifts on his birthday. Thus there were a large number of bankruptcies among them, notwithstanding the numerous ways in which they covered themselves against risks.<sup>68</sup> In the long run it proved impossible to maintain the system of standing guarantor for each other. The payment of taxes began to suffer and supply contracts were not honoured.

In 1771 the Co Hong was disbanded on the insistence of the Hong merchants.<sup>69</sup> They were now no longer held responsible for one another and each paid his own taxes and gifts individually. But this too had its objections in the eyes of the government and from 1775 to 1782 renewed attempts were made to raise the taxes via a Co Hong.<sup>70</sup> For the Europeans, who did make a formal protest, this in fact no longer made much difference, since the trade had become very extensive by that time. The vast majority of the transactions were concluded with Hong merchants and then almost exclusively with the greatest among them, since the supercargos could rely on them for solvency, prompt delivery and consistent quality. Even without the Co Hong the Hong merchants continued to settle debts among themselves, each of them naturally trying to

strengthen his own position. In 1782 the Co Hong was officially reinstated again and it remained in existence until 1842. But in fact around 1790 the foreign trade was monopolized by a few large firms, among which those of Poankeequa and Tzykinqua handled around two-thirds of all the goods imported and exported, those of Monqua and Pinqua two-ninths and the remaining Hong merchants one-ninth.<sup>71</sup>

In general the system of the Co Hong was not disadvantageous for the Europeans and all the Companies seem to have found remarkably little to complain about in 'their' Hong merchants. They were covered against financial risks and the prices lay at an acceptable level, while it was generally possible to obtain redress in case of serious complaints. The Co Hong's function as intermediary between the Companies and the authorities was also important and in many cases the supercargos were in fact able to exercise quite a lot of influence via the Hong merchants over the way things actually went. For all parties the one thing that was always the prime consideration was the safeguarding of the trade and with it their profits. However, we still know remarkably little about relations between the Co Hong and other Hong in South China, on whom the Hong merchants were heavily dependent for the importation and selling of trade products, especially tea, silk, pepper and untreated ores. The Dutch East India Company's records occasionally give some information about this. In the General Report of 1765–6, mention is made of concerted action on the part of the 'interior' tea merchants against the Co Hong in connection with the fixing of the prices.<sup>72</sup>

In a memorandum by F. C. Roemer (c. 1760), the relationship between the Canton and Nanking merchants is explained: 'Then one also finds at Canton rich Nankinese merchants who speculate in tea, silk and gold and come from that Province to trade here. They mostly find their accommodation among the mer-

chants with whom the European Nations usually ply their trade and their fortunes actually also depend on the arrival of the ships and the extent to which the privileged merchants can meet their delivery contracts...'<sup>73</sup>

A good example of the way in which the interests of the Hong merchants and the European supercargos could be bound up together is the following incident. In 1729 and 1730 the Dutch had chosen as their Hong merchant and guarantor Tan Honqua, a man who was known for his reliability and creditworthiness and who also supplied goods to the other Companies. On their arrival in 1731 the supercargos learned that Honqua had fallen out of favour with the Hoppo and was being avoided by the other Hong merchants. Only by taking on another Hong merchant, Tantinaqua, as guarantor, did the Dutch receive permission to trade. The reason for this was the fact that Honqua had for a long time opposed the so-called '10% rule', an extra tax on imported goods.<sup>74</sup> In addition to this it had now been discovered that in 1729 and 1730 he had on his own initiative sent letters to the directors of the Dutch and English East India Companies, in which he wrote that it was generally known in Canton that there was a difference between the price the tea was contracted for and entered up in the account books and the sum that was actually paid. The difference was divided up between the Hong merchants and the supercargos at the Companies' expense. Honqua now offered to supply tea at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 taels a picul below the current rate (*i.e.* at around 16 cents a pound!) on condition that he would be the sole supplier.<sup>75</sup> The English East India Company gladly agreed to this proposal, but the Dutch politely held aloof.<sup>76</sup> Tan Honqua was compelled by the Hoppo and the Hong merchants to abandon his monopoly plans and there is little mention of him after that time.

His business probably passed to his relative (son?) Young Honqua, who is also called Tsja

Honqua, and the Company did most of its trade with him up to his death in 1770. He was nearly always chosen as guarantor, either on his own or with the Hong merchants who were associated with him, and one seldom or never hears of any complaint being raised about his behaviour, the prices he set or the way in which he served Dutch interests. Unfortunately, little is known about this man, even though he played an important part in the success of the China trade for years. The volume of the Dutch East India Company's trade must have made him one of the richest and most prominent merchants, but he is scarcely mentioned in the literature regarding the other Companies. His Chinese name was Tei Yi-Feng and the name of his firm the Yi-Feng Hong or 'I-phong hang', as the supercargos said.<sup>77</sup>

Perhaps it was, indeed, his wish to concentrate exclusively on the trade with the Dutch, in order, as he himself said, to be able to advance their interests that much better. It is also possible that this relationship came about because other Companies did not want him, since he was rumoured to be corrupt, and to supply goods of poor quality.<sup>78</sup> By contrast, the positive judgements of the various principals and directors show a striking unanimity. In 1756, when the Batavian supercargos left for good, they even gave him a letter of recommendation for the Amsterdam supercargos, in which his praises were sung.<sup>79</sup>

This appreciation is understandable when one considers that, for example, the contracts for the delivery of tea were in fact settled between the Hong merchant and the top-ranking supercargos, while the responsibility of the other supercargos was often limited to the signing of the accompanying resolutions. In this way a great deal could stick to their fingers without it ever being possible to prove anything. Only a few were averse to supplementing their meagre monthly salaries and of those who, like A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, spoke out



18 View of the fort known as the 'Dutch Folly' on a porcelain saucer, decorated in underglaze blue. Diam. 13 cm, Chinese, 3rd quarter of the 18th century. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

against such practices, one gets the impression that they only did so in order to curry favour with the directors.

In 1754 Tsja Honqua's partners were his son Thayqua and Semqua, a lesser Hong merchant. In 1760, with the reinstatement of the Co Hong,

he entered into an association with the Hong merchants Swetia and Tan Chetqua and the Dutch chose him as guarantor and Hong merchant for all their trade transactions as a matter of course. A fierce struggle broke out for the leadership within the Co Hong between this triumvirate and the Hong merchant Poankeequa. The latter won the day and was appointed 'head' of the Co Hong.

Poankeequa (Puankhiqua) lived from 1714 to 1788 and was without doubt the most powerful and famous Hong merchant of his day. At first he supplied a great deal to the Swedes and the French and after 1760 to an increasing extent to the English. He visited Stockholm during the 1740's and a portrait of him dating from that time is preserved in the museum at Göteborg (Fig. 22). His wealth was as great as his diplomatic gifts and the English were always full of praise for him. The Dutch supercargos seldom did business with him, not only because he was sometimes deeply in debt, as in 1778, 'the reason for which is his grandiose way of life, giving banquets for the mandarins, building splendid houses and paying the expenses of his sons, who are mandarins'<sup>80</sup>. At the end of the



19 View of the factories at Canton. Copper engraving, c. 1740. From H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China*, vol. 1, Oxford 1926.



century 'Poankeequa tea' was even a mark of quality in Europe.

In 1762 Swetia died and his place was filled by his brother Inksja, whose 'cunning' did not greatly endear him to the Dutch supercargos.<sup>81</sup>

The China Committee afforded Tsja Hunqua much pleasure in 1764 by sending him a fire-engine with all its appliances, which he installed in his warehouse and which doubtless attracted a great deal of attention. By this time he was already ailing, his eyesight was poor and during the last years of his life he was blind.<sup>82</sup> On a tea service, which in 1975 was in the possession of the Ralph M. Chait Galleries Inc., there is a depiction of a bespectacled Chinese merchant surrounded by his family and it is tempting to see this as a portrait of Tsja Hunqua (Fig. 23). After his death in 1770 the I-phong Hong passed to his eldest son Tsja Anqua, but he proved incapable and was speedily replaced by his brother Thayqua, who had already long been a partner. In 1771 the Co Hong was disbanded and 'free trade' with all merchants again became possible. In that year too Chetqua died and was succeeded by his brother Tinqu.<sup>83</sup> The triumvirate now consisted of Inksja, Thayqua and Tinqu. Now that Tsja Hunqua was no longer there to act as the link between them, the Dutch decided that they would no longer trade exclusively with these merchants. With an eye to competition they also did business in the years that followed with other reliable Hong merchants, namely with Monqua, one of the biggest merchants, and Tan Tsjoqua.<sup>84</sup> Thayqua died in 1776 and was succeeded by his brother Tsjonqua (Seunqua).<sup>85</sup>

For the supercargos an important point in the choice of a Hong merchant was always that they should not play into the hands of Poankeequa and the Hong merchants associated with him either directly or indirectly as a result. Poankeequa had become the most important supplier of both the English East India Company and the country traders and he was

trying to get the entire foreign trade under his control. Any strengthening of his position represented an advantage for the English.

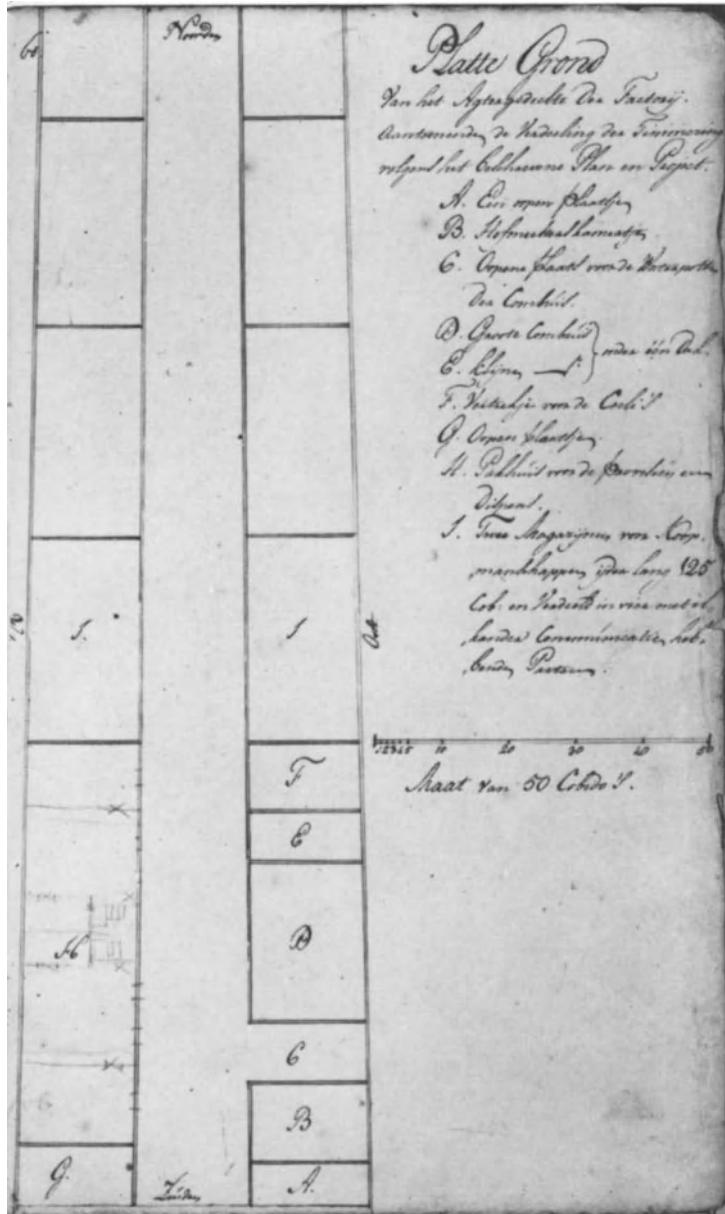
In 1784 Tsjonqua went bankrupt. He was in debt to the Dutch East India Company to the tune of 41,400 taels (150,000 guilders) and in return for settling this debt the Hong merchants with whom the Company was doing the major part of its trade at the time, Monqua, Tsjoqua, Pinqa and Kiouqua, obtained a sole right, whereby they stood guarantor for one another. After some ineffectual fuming the supercargos were obliged to agree to this and they worked with this combine of merchants up to 1791, when Pinqa went bankrupt.<sup>86</sup> In that year, after the other three had settled Pinqa's debts, the combine was dissolved, because the financial situation was so bad that the Hong merchants no longer dared to stand in for one another.<sup>87</sup> From that time onwards the Dutch mostly bought from Monqua who, as head of the Co Hong, was one of the biggest and most influential Hong merchants and who played a large part in the preparations for the English and Dutch embassies to Peking.

Personal contact with the Chinese authorities was very limited. The Hoppo came on board for the measuring of the ships and use was generally made of that opportunity to submit problems to him or present petitions. The Hoppo also paid a visit to the factory every now and then, in 1776, for example, when he paraded a number of Tibetan prisoners of war 'in order to demonstrate the power of the Emperor'. Only rarely was it possible to speak to the Tsjontok or the 'Foeyuun' (the Governor of the Province of Kwangtung) and an audience with the Foeyuun, such as that granted in 1779, was exceptional.<sup>88</sup> In ordinary daily practice the Europeans mostly had to do with the Hoppo and his mandarins. Communication was effected via one or more interpreters, who were allotted to the Company by the Hong merchant who stood guarantor for it. They asked for all

the necessary licences, looked after the gifts, paid the taxes and settled all sorts of incidental problems. In addition to their word-of-mouth reports they also translated the official documents to or from the Hoppo. However, it was always necessary to remain aware that the interpreter could impose his own interpretations on these, not only in order to smooth over the sharp edges somewhat in a diplomatic manner and thus save the face of the Hong merchant responsible, but also because his own position and even his life could be endangered, if the authorities were put in a difficult position by the contents of a letter or request.

The Europeans seem to have tried to reduce their dependence on the interpreters, especially at the end of the 1750's. In 1755–9 the English had a certain Mr. Bevan, who assisted James Flint with his knowledge of Chinese,<sup>89</sup> and the Dutch likewise tried to train interpreters of their own. In 1756 630 guilders was paid 'to a teacher for two European students of the Chinese language' and in 1758 mention is made of '4 Chinese pupils'.<sup>90</sup> In 1760 these lessons were stopped and the Dutch relied in the main on the translations made by the French. The latter had good contacts with the priests in Macao 'and they also have two or three young people who can copy the Chinese and speak it reasonably well, ...but any opportunity to progress further in that language has now been removed, because the Chinese are much too frightened to teach the Europeans, since it cost Mr. Flint's teacher his head last year'.<sup>91</sup> In later years too the French always had someone at their factory who knew Chinese, such as the supercargo Clouet in 1777 and J. C. F. Galbert in 1784. In daily life and in their contacts with the Hong merchants the Europeans made use of pidgin English, a hotchpotch of English and Portuguese with numerous words and expressions from Malay and Chinese. In addition, a number of Chinese merchants will certainly have acquired some knowledge of Dutch from their visits to Batavia.

The Dutch embassy to the Emperor in 1794–5 must obviously be mentioned as an example of contact with the Chinese authorities. Its aim was 'to congratulate the Emperor on the sixtieth year of his reign', to obtain better trading conditions and to discuss the increasing extortion in Canton. The Dutch were here following the example of the English embassy under Lord Macartney, which had gone to Peking in 1793 on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung.<sup>92</sup> The Dutch East India Company had not sent a delegation at that time, because the *Hoge Regering* considered it too expensive, but on this new occasion the Hong merchants strongly insisted that the Dutch should send an embassy. The then director, A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (Fig. 24), saw this as a chance to score over the English and to play an honourable role himself. He sent an urgent request to the *Hoge Regering*, making it appear as if the other Companies were going to send embassies as well. The 'Commission for the redress of East Indies' Affairs'<sup>93</sup> was in Batavia at that moment and it appointed as ambassador Isaac Titsingh, who had had experience in Court visits as chief in Japan.<sup>94</sup> To his great annoyance Van Braam Houckgeest was appointed as second man. Titsingh arrived in Canton in the autumn of 1794 and realised that only the Dutch East India Company was preparing an embassy. But it was too late to countermand the decision, for the mandarins had already sent word to Peking of his coming. The Emperor let it be known that he was expecting the Dutch at the end of January and the journey was begun in a great hurry. The vicissitudes of the embassy were noted down by both Titsingh and Van Braam Houckgeest and their reports formed the basis for the articles written by Duyvendak on this subject.<sup>95</sup> From the business angle the embassy was not a success, but the Emperor showed himself very satisfied and the Dutch were still able to benefit years later from the goodwill engendered.



20 Sketch for the rebuilding of the back part of the Dutch factory. Pen drawing with additions in pencil, 32 × 21 cm, 1772. National Archives, Archives of the Canton Factory 35, no. 60.

## 6 Trade and merchandise

On their arrival in Canton the supercargos paid courtesy visits to the other factories and to the most important Hong merchants with whom they planned to do business. They discussed the current situation and enquired about the orders they had placed on their departure. Small business gifts were exchanged: a few pieces of cloth or some bottles of Cape red wine for the Hong merchant, a small chest of fine tea, a roll of silk or one or two finely made pieces of porcelain for the supercargos. A fire engine, like that given to Tsja Honqua in 1764, was an exception and only rarely does one find references to mirrors, timepieces, 'Spanish dogs' or mechanical devices as gifts, in contrast to the practice customary in other Companies.

The director, the supercargos and the assistants together formed the 'Trade Council', which had far-reaching powers. Not only did it take decisions about the buying and selling and enter into contracts, but it was also empowered to act as a civil registration office, to have notarial acts passed and, as a 'council of justice', to exercise jurisdiction and carry out sentences. The secretary was required to draw up resolutions of all the Council's decisions, which were signed by all the members, unless they adopted a minority viewpoint and recorded this in writing, which seldom happened. Decisions were taken by a majority vote and in cases where the votes were evenly divided, the director had the casting-vote. All the resolutions and the papers connected with them were sent along with the other trade papers to the Netherlands, where they were assessed by the directors. The director and the supercargos further constituted, along with the ships' captains and some high-ranking officers, the 'Broad Council', which arbitrated on important matters concerning the ships. In this council the ships' captains' verdict was decisive.<sup>96</sup>

For the buying-in and the routine daily busi-

ness the work was divided up among the supercargos in a manner which had often already been laid down by the *Heeren XVII* in their Instructions. The director or the principal, in company with the highest ranking supercargos, took the decisions regarding the buying-in and contracting for tea, silk and silk textiles, costly commodities that constituted the major part of the total purchase. The third or fourth supercargo was generally responsible for the porcelain. The assistants were either assigned to the supercargos or concerned with the drugs, the nankeen or other articles of lesser importance. The administrative tasks were likewise portioned out. One of the highest supercargos acted as secretary, took charge of the records and supervised the preparation and copying of the various documents by the clerks. Another supercargo (not the bookkeeper!) kept the daybooks and ledgers up-to-date. The journal was mostly kept by the director, who entered up a short survey of the day-to-day events. The almost unbroken series of journals thus constitutes a unique source from which it is possible to follow the progress of business in Canton over the period 1729–95 in great detail. The bookkeeper looked after the ships' paybooks, the domestic account books and other financial records and assisted the secretary.

At the end of the trading season the Trade Council drew up its 'General Report on the Trade Conducted', in which a detailed account of its activities was rendered to the directors with reference to the resolutions and other documents. After 1757, when the direct trade from the Netherlands was resumed, a short abstract of the General Report was sent to the *Hoge Regering*, in which more detail was given about the sale of the goods that had been taken to Canton from Batavia. Reports and letters were often sent between whiles too, so that it was possible for people in the Netherlands to get some sort of idea in advance of the return shipments to be expected. Copies were made of all

the reports, resolutions, journals and most important letters, sometimes even in triplicate, and these were kept in the archives at the factory. All the incoming documents (Instructions, letters, 'Requirements', etc.) were carefully kept there too.

As has already been noted in discussing the Co Hong, the Hong merchant chosen as guarantor enjoyed a privileged position as regards the buying-in and selling, but even before the establishment of the Co Hong he tried to reduce competition by coupling his service as 'fiador' with requirements regarding sale and supplies. The guarantor generally had an option on two-thirds of the goods brought into Canton, provided the price he offered was reasonable, while the supercargos were required to buy a good half of their tea and porcelain from him, so that he was assured of a fixed sale. After 1760 it became customary for the bulk of the tea, silk and silk textiles to be contracted for in advance on the departure of the ships in January or February.

In the case of the goods that the Dutch East India Company imported into China a distinction must be made between 'Home' and 'Batavia' goods. The most important commodity to be brought from the Netherlands was, of course, the silver, which has already been discussed in detail in Chapter I. In addition there was lead, which was exchanged for cheaper ballast of tin and spelter at a very small profit margin of a few percent, while as a final commodity – Europe had remarkably little to offer China – may be mentioned the cloth for which there was quite a demand in China. However, it was only possible to find a market there for the best grades and finest types of smooth, napless, closely-woven worsted cloths, black crape (*lijklaken*) being in particular demand. The winter garments made of it were bought by the well-to-do. Coarse cloths or cloth that was not of the correct colour was unsaleable, since various types of coarse fabric

which a wide section of the public could afford were made in China itself.<sup>97</sup> A distinctive category was constituted by 'printed cloths', cloth with a printed pattern, which could on occasion be sold in small quantities. It is interesting to note that in both 1757 and 1779 the Hong merchants ordered textiles of this kind from the Netherlands with a special pattern, of which they gave the supercargos colour samples and drawings. They were meant to be sent as a gift to the Court in Peking and they are the only example of Chinese *commande* in Europe so far known. The Company made 80% profit on the

twenty-five bales that were supplied by a round-about route in 1781.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to cloth the Dutch also traded in the cheaper druggets (*polemierten*), woollen fabrics which were carried to China in increasing amounts after 1760 in particular and which elbowed out the trade in worsted cloth. The Dutch druggets had a warp of Turkish cotton and were thus stronger than the English, which had a woollen warp. In 1780 the supercargos succeeded in concluding a contract whereby the Hong merchants agreed to take 125 bales of around 50 ells each year. Far less important

Table 1 Gross profits on cloth in Holland guilders

Year in Canton	Amount	Type	Purchase price	Sale price	Gross profit	Profit in %
1731	1,402 ells	worsted cloths	4,277	6,611	2,334	55
1736	2,271	worsted cloths	13,384	16,329	2,945	22
1743	1,626	worsted cloths	7,040	10,735	3,695	53
1743	1,495	camlets	3,037	2,563	—	—
1743	1,898	druggets	3,596	5,428	1,832	50
1743	2,647	ratteen ( <i>ras de marocs</i> )	3,066	5,824	2,758	89
1743	50	perpetuanas	1,254	2,200	946	76
1753	36 bales	worsted cloths	9,075	9,258	183	2
1753	100	ratteen ( <i>ras de marocs</i> )	7,535	9,683	2,148	29
1753	2,005	perpetuanas	45,955	50,377	4,422	10
1753	108	druggets	19,211	20,245	1,034	5
1753	2	camlets	512	446	—	—
1764	1,502 ells	druggets	2,708	4,810	2,102	78
1764	2,500	printed cloths	8,020	11,466	3,446	43
1773	21,663	druggets	35,072	53,496	18,424	53
1784	56,317	druggets	95,965	139,082	43,117	45
1784	1,814	worsted cloths, 1st quality	8,406	9,601	1,195	14
1784	7,226	worsted cloths, 2nd quality	28,591	35,690	7,099	25
1793	3,694	worsted cloths	15,293	16,942	1,649	11
1793	698	printed cloths	3,431	5,760	2,329	68
1793	50,857	druggets	83,848	107,654	23,806	28

were the 'printed floor carpets' and woollen fabrics such as camlets (*grijnen*) and per-petuanas. To give an idea of the amounts involved and the gross profits, some figures have been extracted from the General Reports with intervals of roughly 10 years. (see Table I)

The Chinese market was an important one for the Leiden textile industry in particular. In 1742 the Amsterdam Chamber decided to buy half of all the cloth it needed from Leiden manufacturers, while in 1776 a contract was drawn up whereby the directors – in exchange for a prolongation of their charter – were to order all the cloth the Company required for Asia from Leiden.<sup>99</sup> In 1787 the manufacture of druggets for China was described as the most important source of income for the Leiden factories.<sup>100</sup> Towards the end of the 1780's it became difficult for the Dutch to compete as regards cloth with the English, who were willing to supply any amount required at lower prices, but despite this worsted cloth and druggets continued to make a modest contribution to profits right to the end.

More important than these 'Home goods' for the financing of the China trade was the merchandise carried to Canton from Batavia. The profit the supercargos could make on this was large and it was used to meet the costs of part of the buying-in for the Netherlands. By far the most important commodities were pepper and Banka tin, to which attention has already been drawn on p. 41. China was the biggest market for tin in all Asia and it is interesting to read what it was used for: 'Tin is a readily saleable commodity and it is unbelievable what a sizable consumption there is of it here in the Empire, for apart from that which comes from outside, tin occurs in various Provinces of the Empire itself, among others 5000 piculs of tin will certainly be extracted annually in the Province of Canton, which is, however, said to be entirely consumed merely in the alloy compounded of various metals from which cash and doits are

minted here... All the other tin which is actually used here is absorbed by being employed for foils for devotional offerings, a very big trade which is conducted not only throughout the whole of the Empire and Tartary, but also in all the neighbouring lands to the West of China, including Cochin China and others, and the price of which is regulated according to the tin. In the Province of Nanking especially they have a special way of beating, so that they can beat the tin uncommonly thinner than in the other Provinces or any of the neighbouring countries, and one can easily understand that this use is capable of swallowing up exorbitant quantities, when one considers that the most wretched individuals, who even have to beg their bread, nonetheless seldom omit to burn such a piece of foil every morning and evening, while those in power likewise do not neglect to let large sheets, in which the tin is somewhat thicker, go up in smoke every day'.<sup>101</sup>

In China pepper was not only used as a spice, but was evidently also infused in hot water, this 'pepper water' serving 'to warm the stomach'.<sup>102</sup> From the documents one sometimes gets the impression that Batavia regarded the Chinese market as a means of getting rid of unsaleable stocks, for the number of complaints on the part of the supercargos and Hong merchants about poor quality is legion. Despite this, however, the profits averaged around 200%.<sup>103</sup> Although other spices, such as nutmegs, cloves and the fruit of the clove trees, certainly realized good profits, up to 1,000%, they could only be supplied in small amounts of a few hundred pounds.

Less important were the sales of types of wood such as sappanwood and Timor sandalwood, indigo, dust pearls, betel nuts, cochineal (a carmine red dyestuff), kapok and cotton threads. Commodities of this kind could probably be imported more cheaply by the Chinese merchants themselves from the centres of pro-

duction. Opium already played an important role in the 18th century too, especially for English private traders, who used it to finance a large part of their country trade. The English East India Company benefited from this, since the profits were paid into its coffers in Canton against bills of exchange on London and the English supercargos acquired better financial possibilities as a result.<sup>104</sup> Like the English Company the Dutch did not concern itself with the opium trade, because the importation of opium was forbidden by the Chinese government and the discovery of smuggling could have endangered the legitimate trade.<sup>105</sup>

By contrast to that of other Companies, the merchandise imported into China by the Dutch East India Company was of a limited variety.<sup>106</sup> But the China trade was, on the other hand, much more a trade in money than one in merchandise and it is understandable that the directors had no desire to devote much attention to trade in commodities that yielded little profit, such as birds' nests, putchuk, flint, panes of glass, raisins, ivory, etc.

In the trade reports of the supercargos much attention was naturally paid to the buying-in of goods for the return shipments. They gave detailed information in various appendices, while the cargo of each ship was specified in the invoices according to type of commodity, amount and price. A large number of these shipping invoices have been preserved and where they are incomplete or missing, they can be supplemented by data from other documents, *e.g.* the daybooks. Only in the case of a few ships does it prove impossible to draw up a specification, since only the total cost of the cargo is known.

This series of shipping invoices covering the whole period 1729–93 is a unique source for the history of the China trade. From it it is possible to discover the extent of the buying-in, what commodities were bought, what share each commodity took in the total purchase and what

changes occurred in this over the course of time. It would be going too far in this context to give a specification of the cargo of each ship, but since such information is nonetheless important for a proper understanding of the China trade, and of the place taken in it by porcelain, the total figures for each year are given in compressed form in Appendix 8. For practical reasons the goods bought in have been divided there into six groups, namely: tea, porcelain, raw silk (Nanking and Canton), textiles (silks and nankeen), drugs (China root, galingale, Chinese anise, sago, rhubarb, turmeric) and miscellaneous items (gold, lacquer, painted wallpaper, fans, mercury) and merchandise that was also used as ballast (tin, lead, spelter, sappanwood and rattan).

### *Tea*

The China trade was focused primarily on the trade in tea, as is evident from the fact that tea comprised on average 70% of the total purchase (see Appendix 8).<sup>107</sup> In the first half of the 17th century small quantities were already being imported into the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company from time to time and round 1640, probably under the influence of Company servants, who had learned to value its use in Batavia, interest in the new beverage began to grow. (Fig. 25). From that time onwards tea was handled in increasing quantities. By the beginning of the 18th century it had become an indispensable luxury for the well-to-do bourgeoisie and during the course of that century it found a market among ever wider sections of the population.<sup>108</sup> This naturally had an influence on the demand for porcelain tea things, tea pots and tea sets, and the Company's porcelain trade was clearly affected by it.

The supercargos began their preparations for the buying-in of the tea immediately on their arrival. The Chinese merchants received sam-

ples of the various types and qualities from the plantations and on the basis of these the supercargos made their selection and placed their orders. Deliveries started to come in about two months later and the tea was 'tasted' once again, in order to see whether the consignment tallied with the sample selected. The tea merchants, then, did not keep a stock of tea, but acted as agents between the plantations and the Europeans.

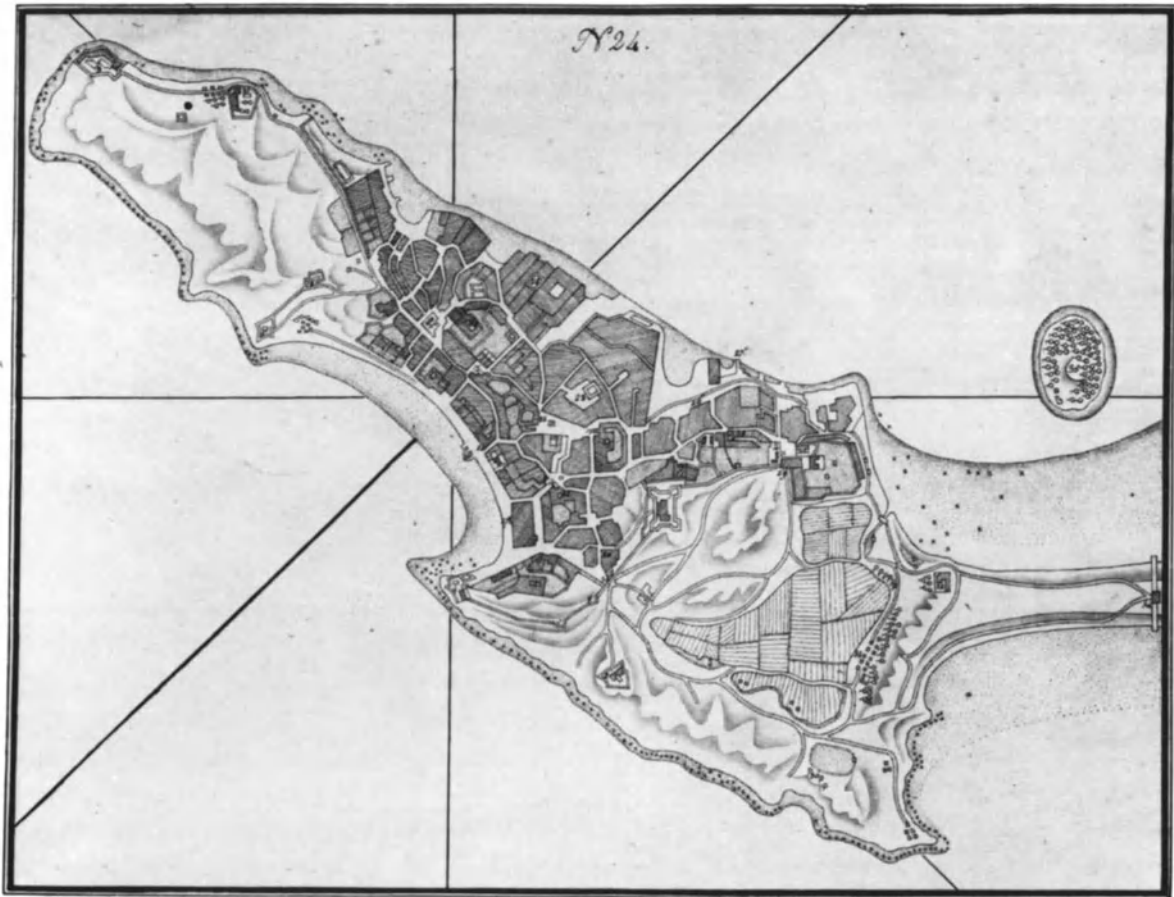
The aroma, the taste, the infusion quality and the colour were all extremely important and the supercargos were endlessly occupied in tea tasting from plain white porcelain 'tasting cups'. Each one of them had to be an expert in this field, but despite this the directors found it necessary in 1752 to send out as assistants 'tea tasters', who were fully conversant with the taste of the European public. In 1762 the supercargos received the following instructions regarding tea: '... for apart from the fact that the quality of each particular type of tea must be of the very best and, as they say, of the first and finest leaf, because experience teaches that in this country more difference is made in types than in China, it must further be remarked what additional qualities are regarded as virtues in the tea in this country also and for which a higher price is paid by the buyers. That according to the present taste of the buyers it is regarded as a prime virtue in all types of tea that the same is soft, smooth and pure in taste and in addition to this clear when poured out, and that in this the Bohea tea of some foreign Companies has particularly excelled of recent years'.<sup>109</sup>

When the consignment had been approved, a start could be made on packing, the coolies ramming the tea into the chests by trampling it with their feet. The wooden tea chests were lined with 'tea lead', an alloy of tin and lead, to preserve the aroma and taste better and keep out damp. All the tea chests were paid for by the Hong merchant, who naturally passed this on in his price. The finest and most expensive tea

could be supplied in small chests containing 30 pounds, which were lacquered brown or black, but the Dutch East India Company seldom bought these. They cost a lot of money and the profit that could be made on them was no higher than that on the loose tea, for the buyers in the Netherlands were not prepared to pay extra for the fine packaging.<sup>110</sup> Several supercargos or assistants were always present during the packing and they had to keep a very sharp eye on the proceedings, for it was well known that the coolies tried to mix poorer tea or sweepings with the good tea. They also had to take care that the tea was not pulverized and that the chests were not rammed too full. An amusing illustration of this is to be found on a set of porcelain tea cups and saucers in the Princessehof Museum at Leeuwarden (Fig. 26). After packing the chests were weighed, marked and numbered. This is depicted in a Chinese gouache, which is distinguished from similar representations by the fact that the monogram of the Dutch East Company (VOC) can clearly be seen on the chests and it is thus Dutchmen who are shown here (Fig. 27). The chests were then stored in the warehouses of the factory, the Hong merchant remaining responsible for theft, deterioration, fire or any other damage until they were loaded on board ship.<sup>111</sup>

Types of tea were divided into two main groups: black tea, which was dried, fermented and roasted, and green tea, which was merely dried and roasted. Black tea could be kept a bit longer than green tea and might be held over for a season, but the general rule was: the fresher the tea, the higher the price. Black tea was divided into 'ordinary' Bohea, Congou, Sou-chong and Pekoe, which was called 'tea with white tips' in the Netherlands, while the types of green tea were Hyson, Young Hyson, Tonkai, Singlo, Bing or Imperial tea, gunpowder tea and Ankai. There were also many other names current in the Netherlands, since various mixtures were compounded from the above-mentioned types.





21 Plan of Macao. The house used by the Dutch is indicated by the number 28. Pen and watercolour, 35.8 × 26.5 cm, c. 1794. National Archives, Acquisitions of 1st Department 1912-XXII, vol. 4, no. 24.

Of all the tea that was sold Bohea was far and away the most important kind, comprising on average 60–80% of the total purchase of tea. It was also the cheapest kind of all, it was readily obtainable in large quantities and it enjoyed an unlimited market in Europe. The slightly more expensive Congou was also much in demand and towards the end of the 18th century this kind supplanted Bohea. This is probably to be explained by the fact that, thanks to a general increase in wealth, the public at large could more often afford a ‘fine’ tea.<sup>112</sup> The green teas were bought in much smaller quantities in proportion, although they were not always dearer (see Table 2).

There are plenty of statistics available regarding the purchase prices of the various kinds and qualities, but it is impossible to go into them in detail in the present context. The prices of any one variety could differ widely during the trading season, depending on the consignment, the date of purchase, the quality, etc. To give a rough idea of how prices developed in the tea trade, the average purchase prices per pound of the different types have been calculated at five-yearly intervals and are presented in Table 2. The fluctuations in the prices can be attributed to various factors, the situation in Canton, for example, and certainly the alterations in the China trade also.



22 Portrait of the Hong merchant Poankeequa (1714–88). Painting on a mirror, 97 × 67 cm, Canton, c. 1740. Gothenburg Historical Museum, Gothenburg.

*Table 2 Average purchase price of tea per pound in Holland guilders<sup>113</sup>.*

Year	Bohea	Congou	Souchong	Pekoe	Singlo	Hyson	Tonkai	Bing
1729	0.73	0.97				1.69		
1733	0.43	0.56	1.14	0.67	0.39	0.72		0.72
1739	0.58	0.80	1.32	0.85	0.75			0.82
1744	0.49	0.84	1.23	0.79	1.03	1.45		0.79
1749	0.55	0.82	1.07	0.83	0.86	2.10		
1754	0.64	0.94	1.23	0.94	1.07	2.13		
1759	0.49	0.72	1.01	0.90	0.78	1.66		0.80
1764	0.51	0.72	0.80	0.96	0.69	1.64	0.75	0.84
1769	0.37	0.75	0.86	1.23	0.62	1.76	0.69	1.00
1774	0.35	0.47	1.05	1.12	0.45	1.62	0.50	
1779	0.36	0.44	0.73	0.96	0.63	1.56	0.69	
1784	0.42	0.76	1.12	1.23	0.71	1.33		
1789	0.35	0.91	1.53	1.85	0.63	1.86	0.74	
1794	insufficient information							

*Table 3 Gross profits on tea in Holland guilders<sup>114</sup>*

Year in Canton	Purchase in Canton	Sale in Netherlands	Gross profit	Profit in %
1729	242,420	598,101	355,681	147
1733	336,881	988,510	651,629	194
1739	290,461	603,022	312,561	108
1744	694,759	1,715,120	1,020,361	147
1749	483,317	919,585	436,268	90
1754	2,722,870	2,920,334	197,464	7
1758	777,409	2,303,340	1,525,931	196
1765	2,199,097	4,050,797	1,851,700	84
1776	1,723,870	2,541,055	817,185	47
1785	1,768,428	3,033,436	1,265,008	72
1792	1,821,461	2,110,780	289,319	16

Detailed statistics are also available in the records regarding the profits on tea, even on each kind of tea, but it would require a separate study to digest and interpret them. In the present context a few examples of the total gross profits on tea must suffice (Table 3). The percentages for the different consignments differ markedly, depending on the quality, the date of the sale and the situation on the international market, but the fluctuations are nonetheless strikingly wide for such an important commodity. This can be explained by, among other things, the changes in the China trade (1736,

1757), the influence of the tea shipped privately on freight (1744–56) and the attempts to make Amsterdam the centre of the European tea trade (1783–9).

The profits also declined on account of the steady increase in purchase prices (Table 2), albeit a comparison with similar figures from other Companies, especially the English East India Company, would be particularly interesting here.<sup>115</sup> It is certainly clear that the Dutch Company was in no position to keep the tea trade remunerative, especially in the last period.



23 Portrait of a Hong merchant, possibly Tsja Hunqua, on a porcelain dish and slop bowl, decorated in enamel colours. Diam. of dish 15.5 cm, of bowl 11.4 cm, Chinese, c. 1750–70. Ralph M. Chait Galleries, New York.

*Raw silk*

As far as raw silk is concerned, two types were distinguished, the fine white Nanking silk and the somewhat coarser, but also cheaper Canton silk. Only from 1748 onwards was raw silk bought on a regular basis and it then generally constituted 5–10% of the total value of the return shipment. In the preceding period the Dutch East India Company limited its imports almost entirely to Bengal silk, since the Chinese was considered too expensive.<sup>116</sup> Silk too was ordered from the Hong merchants after samples had been approved, the merchants again acquiring it from dealers in the interior. It was shipped in bales which were stowed in the cabin to avoid any risk of their becoming wet. In the Netherlands the Chinese silk was used in the textile industry. The amounts handled by the Dutch East India Company were not large, compared with what the English or even the French bought. In 1778, for example, the English East India Company shipped 224,000 pounds and the French 140,000, as against the 30,000 pounds of the Dutch.<sup>117</sup> The profits were not high either and they gradually declined over the years.<sup>118</sup> During the period 1759–62 the export of raw silk was forbidden by the Chinese government. However, the numerous requests for the lifting of this ban were eventually successful. In 1762 raw silk was allowed to be exported again to a limited extent and in 1764 all restrictions on its export were lifted.<sup>119</sup>

*Textiles: nankeen and silks*

Nankeen, Nanking linen, was a finely woven, shiny linen that was regularly bought by the supercargos from 1745 onwards. Initially only a few hundred pieces of around 90 cm wide and 18 m long were shipped, but during the second period of direct trade an average of around

10,000 pieces was sent back on each ship. Nankeen was generally of a natural colour, but yellow, red and blue sorts were also bought on occasion. Colour fastness was a problem here, the linen dyed in Canton being regarded as of far less value than the original nankeen. Towards the end of the 18th century there was a steady increase in the demand for nankeen, which was partly based on a growing preference for cheaper and lighter cotton and linen clothing among European women. The Companies, especially the French, latched on to this demand, the Dutch East India Company too buying large quantities, up to 15,000–20,000 pieces per ship.<sup>120</sup> But before long difficulties arose over sales in Europe, for the textile factories there began to produce cheap and successful imitations of the Chinese linen. Sometimes they even managed to get an import ban imposed to protect their own products, as in Prussia in 1793.<sup>121</sup> As a result the sale prices of nankeen dropped and trade in it was scarcely profitable any more for the Dutch East India Company.<sup>122</sup>

Much more important was the buying-in of silk textiles, to which the supercargos devoted a great deal of time and attention right from the start.<sup>123</sup> The directors regarded it as important that good quality silks of fashionable kinds and colours should be sought for in China and to this end from 1736 onwards they regularly sent out samples of silk to serve as models for the supercargos and the Chinese merchants. Samples of this sort have survived from several years and they make it considerably easier to identify the various kinds, since the names and characteristics are written beside them.<sup>124</sup> It would be particularly useful if a separate study were to be made on the basis of these samples and the detailed information in the archives to find out when certain kinds of silk were in fashion, what furnishing and dress materials were most in demand and how the prices developed. In the present context it is only possi-

ble to devote brief attention to these silks, which constitute an important part of social history and of the history of fashion in the 18th century.

The supercargos distinguished various kinds, most of which again came in all sorts of varieties. Kinds of silk that were much in demand were damasks, satins, pekings, grosgrains and lustrings, while mention is made in addition of shagreens, grisettes, lampas and other fabrics.<sup>125</sup> Silks were made in, among other places, the Province of Kwangtung and the supercargos mention as the centre of this industry a place they call 'Faischeant', a day's journey from Canton, by which they may perhaps have meant present-day Fatshan (Fo-shan).<sup>126</sup> After 1760 it became more and more customary for the silks for the Europeans to be woven in Canton itself. The advantage of this was that the supercargos could make their requirements clearer, while the Hong merchants could now buy direct from the manufacturers. The weaver Suchin had the goodwill of the Dutch East India Company for silks of all kinds for a long while, but in 1778 he went bankrupt and after that the Company went to Tiqua for its weaving and thereafter to Conqua. The weaver took as his pattern samples or drawn models, which evidently had a certain value, for in 1793 Conqua's successor went bankrupt and disappeared without trace, taking with him all the samples and drawings that the supercargos had given him over the preceding years. Fortunately there were duplicates at the factory, so it was possible for another weaver to meet the 'Requirements' despite all.<sup>127</sup>

The Dutch – and other Europeans – did not only have textiles woven in certain patterns, but they often had them painted or embroidered as well. In addition to flowers, plants and birds, textiles were also decorated with (river) landscapes, figures or even such subjects as 'the cultivation of tea' or 'the manufacture of porcelain'. Silks painted after specific European

models are nowhere mentioned in the records, but some of the textiles with plant and flower motifs that were bought were undoubtedly modelled on or inspired by European textiles.<sup>128</sup> Good embroidery was supplied by one Ajou, mentioned in 1768, while up to the 1780's the Dutch had the 'painting' done by 'the well-known Chinese Anthony', also called 'Deaf Antonio', with whom the first contract was concluded in 1767. In 1792 a certain Andrew was chosen as 'painter'. The price for painting a piece of fabric 60 cm wide and 12½ long came to around 18 guilders in 1768.

The buying-in of silks was beset by serious difficulties in September 1758, when the Emperor imposed a ban on the export of raw silk (see p. 83). Strong protests from the Chinese merchants resulted in the ban being lifted to some extent, with the imposition of a limit, but the export of 'crimson and jonquil stuffs' (jonquil was a pale yellow colour) was absolutely forbidden and continued to be so throughout the whole of the rest of the century. These restrictions were tightened in 1760, along with other trade restrictions, and this caused prices to rise to such an extent that the supercargos had to cease buying altogether until 1764, when the ban was lifted.<sup>129</sup>

Silks were, of course, an extremely attractive commodity for private trade. They were exclusive, they took up very little room and they brought in a good profit. The Dutch East India Company had, however, strictly forbidden its servants to carry silks in their 'permitted chests' and even the silk the supercargos received from the Hong merchants as business gifts had to be handed in.<sup>130</sup> This prohibition was very widely evaded, as is clear, for example, from the confiscation of the silks smuggled by the three supercargos of the *Slooten* in 1758.

The importation of Chinese silks constituted a threat to the Dutch silk industry. In 1740 the principal Dutch manufacturers sent a petition to the directors of the East India Company asking

*Table 4 Gross profits on silks in Holland guilders*

Year in Canton	Number of pieces	Purchase price	Sale price	Gross profit	Profit in %
1729	570	11,921	22,436	10,515	88
1740	8,450	297,190	325,149	27,959	9
1750	6,195	180,598	275,927	95,329	53
1758	5,780	228,266	255,544	27,278	8
1765	2,800	103,924	164,572	60,648	58
1776	4,669	205,125	231,702	26,577	13
1786	4,742	181,864	194,397	12,533	7
1792	3,340	136,681	147,974	11,293	8

for a limitation on imports and saying they would prefer to see more raw silk and silk thread coming from China. The *Heeren XVII* replied that without any hard figures they were not prepared to change their policy, the more because the 'new mode' silks appeared to be a success.<sup>131</sup> A similar request was made in 1770, likewise to no avail.<sup>132</sup> The silks were an important commodity for the China trade, considerable sums being involved in them. Their share in the total purchase certainly fluctuated somewhat and the profits too could vary greatly, but in general there was satisfaction regarding this branch of the trade.

The amounts that were shipped, the purchase prices and the proceeds on the sales are summed up for each kind of silk in the shipping invoices, daybooks and 'General Statements'.<sup>133</sup> Only a few examples are given here with intervals of roughly 10 years, all kinds of silks being taken together in them. (see Table 4)

#### *Drugs and miscellaneous*

The drugs comprise China root, galingale, Chinese anise, sago, rhubarb and turmeric.<sup>134</sup> China root was used by apothecaries and was already regarded in the 17th century as an outstanding remedy for all sorts of complaints 'that

have their origin in cold', such as gout, headaches, a weak stomach, the shivers, etc. It was also supposed to confer immunity from small-pox<sup>135</sup> (Fig. 28). Up to 1770 the Dutch East India Company shipped an average of 5,000 pounds per ship from time to time and after that around



24 Portrait of A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (1739–1801), director of the Dutch Factory at Canton. Oil on canvas, 60 × 45 cm, late 18th century. Private collection.

10,000 pounds. The purchase price averaged 10 cents a pound, while the gross profit on this commodity initially amounted to 75–100%, then declined after 1760 to almost nothing, only to rise again to 200% or more after 1780.

The essential oils extracted from galingale were used in the making of liqueurs and the brewing of beer.<sup>136</sup> The quantities shipped, the purchase prices and the profit margins are comparable with those of China root.

By Chinese anise, or star anise, is meant the fruit of the aniseed tree, which has eight seed pods in the form of a star. From it was extracted the aromatic aniseed oil. It was precisely because of its strong smell, which could taint the aroma of the tea, that the Chinese anise was always stowed as far away from the tea as possible in the bows of the ship. Only after 1762 was Chinese anise bought in regularly, and then quantity never exceeded 1,000–2,000 pounds per ship. The purchase price averaged 20 cents a pound, the gross profit over 300%.

Sago was only bought during the period 1757–77, about 2,500 pounds being taken on each ship. The porcelain was sometimes filled with sago, but because sago absorbs moisture and consequently swells, there was a risk of the porcelain cracking. The purchase price averaged 14 cents a pound, the profit over 230%. Sago was produced in the Moluccas and Sumatra and handled by the Dutch East India Company, but the sago imported by the Chinese merchants during the period mentioned above was evidently better or cheaper than that received by Batavia.

By rhubarb in the 17th and 18th centuries was meant the dried root of the rhubarb plant. (Fig. 29). The best quality was harvested at the end of the winter and possessed numerous curative properties.<sup>137</sup> It was grown in North China and transport costs to Canton were high, because of the distance involved. Moreover, for one pound of dried root, six or seven pounds of fresh root were needed, so that the price the

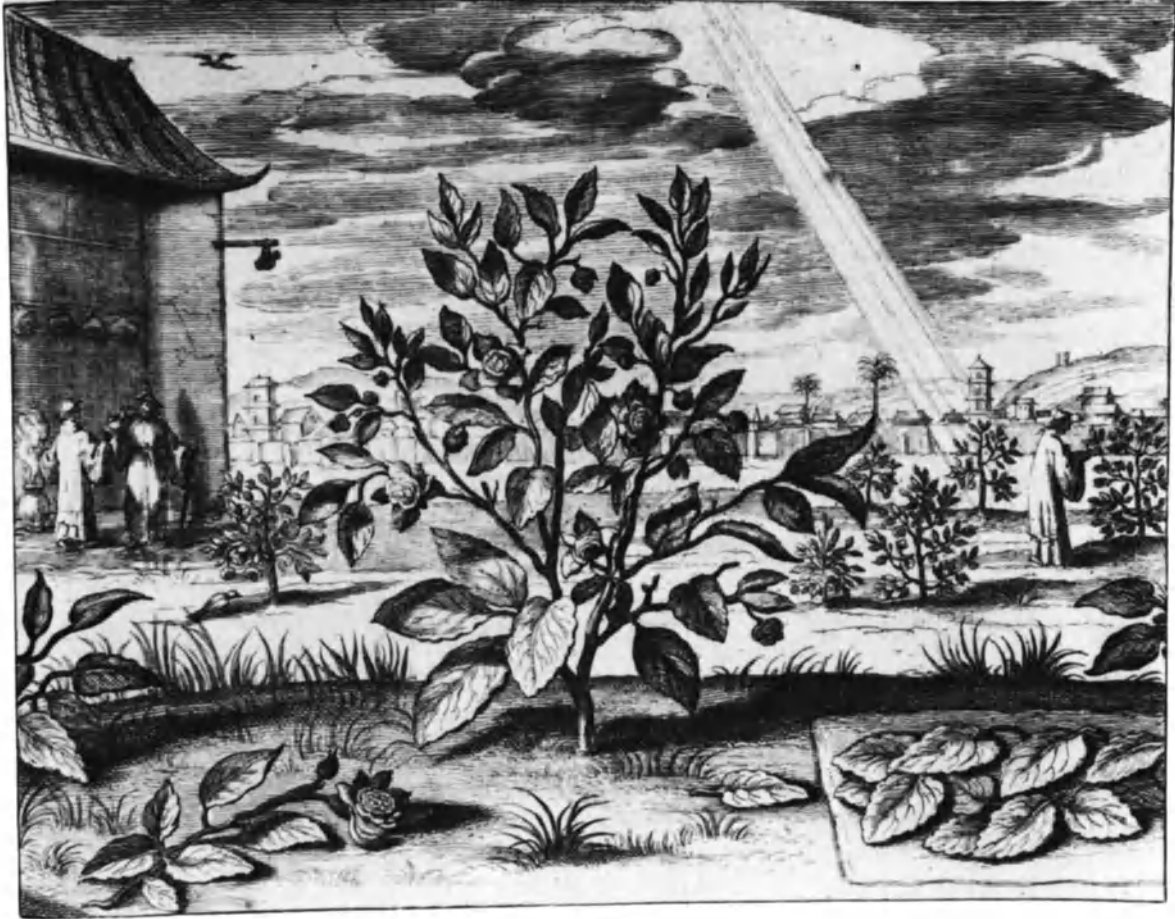
supercargos had to pay was rather high, namely a guilder a pound on average. 2,000–3,000 pounds were sent per ship.

After 1783 the price of rhubarb doubled. This was partly due to the great famine of 1783–5 and to the monopoly held by a few merchants, who bought up the whole crop in China and thus forced the price upwards,<sup>138</sup> but another influential factor was the complete ban on trade with Russia, which the Emperor imposed as part of a conflict with the Tsar. This meant that rhubarb could no longer be carried to Europe via the northern trade route and thus the demand in Canton increased.<sup>139</sup> The Dutch East India Company, too, bought in larger quantities from 1783 onwards, 6,000–8,000 pounds per ship. When the trade was under Batavia's direction the gross profits were good, 150% on average. After the institution of the direct trade in 1757 they showed the first rise, an enormous one, to 350%, but after the mid 1760's there was a falling off and in 1775 the profit was a mere 15%. After that an improvement can be seen again, up to around 150%, but after the mid 1780's this declined to an average of 60%.

Turmeric, the pungent yellow root that yields a dyestuff as well as the basic ingredient of curry, was bought only during the period 1748–60. About 5,000 pounds were sent per ship, the purchase price, which started at 10 cents a pound gradually going up to 20 cents. The profits, initially over 350%, reached a peak of 1,265% in 1753, gradually tailing off thereafter to 200%. It is not clear why the directors stopped buying, although the profits were not so good, but perhaps the turmeric that could be obtained in India was better or cheaper.

The miscellaneous category covers goods that the Company only bought every now and then or perhaps just once and which were of little or no importance for the China trade, namely borax, alum, mother-of-pearl, Chinese ink, cinnabar, mercury, gold, fans, painted





25 'Cia sive Te Herba', one of the earliest European representations of the tea plant and the picking and drinking of tea. Copper engraving from A. Kircher, *Toonneel van China*, etc. Amsterdam 1668, 21 × 16.8 cm.

wallpaper and lacquer. Of these alum, borax, mother-of-pearl and Chinese ink were only bought once, by way of experiment, any idea of further purchases being abandoned, because the results evidently failed to come up to expectations.<sup>140</sup> Cinnabar, the basis of vermilion, was bought sporadically, mercury only during the first period of the direct trade.<sup>141</sup> Gold was of no interest for export to the Netherlands, because it was too expensive. However, the purchase of Chinese gold did for a time benefit Batavia, which used 'light' money. It was used at that period to finance part of the textile trade with Coromandel (see p. 35).

Fans, lacquer and painted wallpaper were

bought by the Dutch East India Company on a far smaller scale than is generally accepted. Thus the bulk of these commodities will have been imported into Europe via other Companies or private individuals.

In 1752 the *Heeren XVII* asked for 1,000 Chinese fans of four models, in accordance with a drawing sent out, 'the sticks of polished cane, the outermost stick impressed with relief work, the leaf finely painted in the Chinese manner'.<sup>142</sup> The supercargos had to have these special models copied, but it would probably have been cheaper to have bought fans from stock in Canton, as the French, the Danes and the other Companies did. In 1754 1,050 'Nanking' fans

were shipped to the Netherlands. They had cost fl.1,93 apiece, but the 318 fans from the consignment that were sold in Zeeland made only 106 guilders, a considerable loss.<sup>143</sup> No fans were handled at any other time before or after this batch.

Lacquer was asked for more often. The information about it is detailed and has been made the subject of a separate study.<sup>144</sup> In general it can be said that the Dutch East India Company did not buy any lacquer furniture or screens from China in the 18th century, this in contrast to the 17th, when such pieces were imported much more often by the Companies, both from China and Japan.<sup>145</sup> There was, however, an interest in small objects like 'bottle containers' (perhaps coasters), toilet sets, tea trays, pin trays, boxes and suchlike. From time to time, too, drawings were sent out, which were intended to serve the Chinese lacquerers as models. Lacquerwork was ordered by the supercargos in Canton, where there were various workshops. The buying of lacquer, which occurred fairly regularly from 1737 onwards, was stopped in 1767, because the profits were no longer satisfactory.

In general purchases were not extensive and only a few chests were sent on each ship. In 1740, for example, the supercargos bought 3,600 tea trays at 55 cents apiece, which at the sales of the various Chambers fetched in all 4,441 guilders, a gross profit of 123%. In 1756 200 nests of five lacquer containers costing fl.10,84 apiece were sent, which realized 2,664 guilders, a profit of only 23%. In 1763 the *Westerveld* brought back eight chests with 1,276 boxes, tea caddies, toilet sets, containers and tea trays, which had together cost 1,533 guilders and which made 3,003 guilders at the sale in Zeeland, a gross profit of 96%.

Chinese painted wallpapers were first bought by the Dutch East India Company in 1753, when, in accordance with the 'Requirements', 400 pieces were shipped to Amsterdam.<sup>146</sup> The

pieces were  $3\frac{1}{2}$  m long by over 1 m wide and had cost in all 1,973 guilders. Two hundred were painted with 'mosaic work' and two hundred with '20 different drawings, all painted with figures, houses, mountains, forests, rivers, battles, masquerades, markets, armies on the march, depictions of her cities, all essentially after the manner and fashion of her lands, nothing after the European style, and finely painted.'<sup>147</sup>

In succeeding years nothing is said about wallpapers until 1778, when the Amsterdam Chamber asked for 760 pieces. This revival of interest probably had something to do with the establishment of the 'Painting, Wallpaper and Printing Works' in Hoorn, which began producing wallpapers in 1777.<sup>148</sup> The supercargos ordered these 'furnishings' from a 'boutiquer' in Canton, who specialized in the making and painting of wallpapers and could also supply matching 'dessus de portes' and chimney-piece hangings. From that time onwards 'painted papers' formed part of the shipments now and again. Sometimes models were sent from the Netherlands, as in 1785, but generally it was asked that wallpapers with Chinese motifs should be bought, in accordance with the 'prevailing taste' in Europe, for which the preference of the Danes served as the guideline.

Losses were suffered on this item. The 10,500 pieces bought for Zeeland in 1779 for 2,398 guilders fetched 1,546 guilders and the 5,600 pieces bought for Enkhuizen for 1,242 guilders only 630 guilders. In other years too losses were incurred to a greater or lesser extent on Chinese wallpapers, which had to compete with the Hoorn products, among which, strange to relate, there were a great many Chinese patterns. These were evidently considered more fashionable and they were probably cheaper as well, thanks to the printing technique. At all events, the buying of wallpaper in China ended for good in 1789.

Enamelled copperwork never formed part of

the return cargos of the China ships. Nor did the directors show many signs of interest in this item. Not until 1766 did they put in their first request for enamelled copper tea kettles and stands, milk jugs, slop basins, ribbed tea and coffee sets and nests of oval tea containers, 2,900 pieces in all. They were required to be decorated 'with houses and figure work, the ground white, but not yellow or green, and almost all of one pattern'.<sup>149</sup> To this the supercargos replied that the export of copper and thus also of enamelwork was strictly forbidden and that it could only be smuggled at a very high cost. Thus, since the 'Honourable Gentlemen' had many times forbidden smuggling, they felt they could waive the purchase.<sup>150</sup>

This export ban remained in force throughout the whole of the 18th century and served to protect the Chinese transfer of payments, which was largely based on copper, against a shortage of the 'copper cash' that did duty as the medium of payment not only in China, but also throughout all South-east Asia, so that the demand was enormous.<sup>151</sup> This was also the cause of a problem that the supercargos came up against in 1735. At the request of the *Hoge Regering* they had had five large brass chandeliers cast in Canton after wooden models. These were intended for the New Church in Batavia. However, the Hoppo refused to give permission for them to be exported, nor could an export license be obtained in subsequent years, so in 1738 they were written off at the cost price of 9,787 guilders.<sup>152</sup>

### *Ballast*

By ballast is understood the loads of spelter, tin, lead or iron, of which about 100,000–150,000 pounds per ship was needed to give the required draught. Rattan and wood count as ballast too.

Spelter, also known as tutenag, is in fact zinc

alloyed with small amounts of copper, lead and a few other metals. It was extracted in China by opencast mining, in 'Quantaaij' among other places,<sup>152</sup> and was already being exported to Europe in the 16th century. The crude spelter was melted down in Canton into ingots in the form of 'pigs', which weighed about 60 pounds. It was used in Canton itself for the manufacture of all sorts of utensils, also for the European market. Coffee urns with a dark patina are even known in this material, perhaps made after Dutch models, although the decoration on them is entirely in the Chinese style.<sup>153</sup> Spelter was needed in the Netherlands for making brass out of copper. Only after the middle of the 18th century did production get well under way in the zinc mines in England and then the role of the Chinese metal began to decline. It can also be demonstrated from the shipping invoices that after 1760 spelter was more and more replaced by tin.<sup>154</sup>

Banka tin, lead and iron were not bought in Canton, but formed part of the ballast that was already taken on in Batavia. Part of this was sold in Canton and the rest remained in the ship. It was posted in the daybooks and on the shipping invoices at the price at which it had been booked in Batavia. The supercargos regarded it as part of the return shipment and it was also sold as such in the Netherlands, after which a settlement will have been made with Batavia. After 1765 in particular the 65-pound pigs of tin constituted by far the most important part of the ballast and brought in a reasonable profit.<sup>155</sup> Pig iron and lead were used only incidentally in small amounts as supplementary ballast alongside spelter or tin.

Rattan and sappanwood were also ballast commodities that were already taken on board in Batavia. Rattan was shipped regularly from 1743 onwards, 1,500–2,000 65-pound bundles being loaded on each ship. The purchase price averaged 35 cents a bundle. Rattan lent itself well to filling up the spaces that were left be-

tween the chests and the sides of the ship, so that the cargo was held in place more securely. In the Netherlands a profit of 25% was made on it on average.

Sappanwood yields a red dyestuff and came in two varieties, namely 'Siamese', the most

common, and 'Biman'. It was only sent on the China ships by Batavia for eleven years, from 1747 to 1758. The amount per ship was mostly 40,000–50,000 pounds. The purchase price was 5 cents a pound, the average profit in the Netherlands 65%.

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### III The porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company

#### 1 *The porcelain trade up to 1729*

Porcelain was one of the commodities that the Dutch East India Company traded in from the outset. Since it was not possible to trade directly with China at the beginning of the 17th century, the Company bought its porcelain initially in Bantam and Patani and from the Chinese junks that came to Batavia, but once it had established itself on Formosa, it was able to develop the trade further. A more or less regular supply of porcelain from mainland China was then assured and although porcelain certainly still continued to be bought elsewhere as well, Formosa rapidly became the centre of the porcelain trade.

In addition to supplying the Dutch market, the Dutch East India Company came, alongside the Chinese, to play an important role in carrying porcelain to Asia and the Middle East, experiencing hardly any competition from other European countries in this field. Surat was used as the staple whence porcelain was sent out to India, Persia and Arabia, while Batavia, Japan and Further India were supplied directly from Formosa. The ups and downs of this trade have been described by T. Volker in his standard work on the porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century<sup>1</sup>, in which, building on the information collected by H. E. van Gelder<sup>2</sup> and with the aid of mainly printed

source material, he gives a comprehensive picture in the form of yearly surveys with a commentary.

However, this regular trade came to an end in 1661 with the loss of Formosa. In the acute power struggle between the new Ch'ing rulers and the rebels who favoured the Ming Dynasty, Coxinga was in control of the supply routes (see pp. 17–18). To protect his own trade he obstructed imports into Formosa to such an extent that Volker takes it that no more Ming porcelain was sold to the Dutch after 1657.<sup>3</sup>

The directors, realizing that there threatened to be a shortage of porcelain, intensified purchasing in Japan from 1658 onwards, while also trying to find alternative 'porcelain' in Persia.<sup>4</sup> This change of policy proved a sensible move, for in the decades that followed Chinese porcelain was very difficult to obtain. Because of the political situation production at the porcelain factories in Ching-tê Chên in Kiangsi Province, which had long been the centre of manufacture of both porcelain for home use and export porcelain, suffered a drastic decline.<sup>5</sup>

The only porcelain that could serve in Europe as a substitute for the fine Chinese porcelain was the Japanese, which still remained the closest to the Chinese as regards quality and decoration. For the inter-Asiatic trade the prime need was for cheap, coarse porcelain and

stoneware which was more durable as an article of daily use for large sections of the population than the more expensive fine porcelain. However, this coarse ware found no favour in Europe and was not shipped to the Netherlands. It was made in China in factories in the southern provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, but the importation of it into Batavia by junks from Amoy, Canton and Macao was likewise irregular now and the amounts that could be obtained were too small. Thus after 1660 the Company also acquired the bulk of its coarse porcelain from Japan and, above all, from Tongking, which was evidently in a position to fill the gap in the market and supplied large quantities at low prices.<sup>6</sup>

The Japanese porcelain industry was stimulated by the increase in demand, but its products had the disadvantage of being expensive, while supplies were irregular. Purchasing was time and again beset by numerous problems and only incidentally did it prove possible to buy in larger consignments. Thus it is understandable that the Company went back to buying Chinese porcelain around 1683, when peace had returned to China after the conquest of Formosa and the factories of Ch'ing-tê Chên, which had been rebuilt and reorganized, began large-scale production again. Volker says that from then on not a single piece of Japanese porcelain reached Europe via the Dutch East India Company any longer and that it was only sold in the Asiatic markets.<sup>7</sup>

In the years that followed, the junk traffic with Batavia showed a marked increase as well. Although no research has as yet been done into the importation of porcelain into Batavia over the period after 1683, it can certainly be taken that the Chinese will have tried to recapture their share of the market there too and that along with the tea, silk and drugs they will also have brought with them sizable consignments of porcelain. However, the question still remains as to how far that porcelain was also sent

on to the Netherlands by Batavia and what proportion it reserved for its own use and for the inter-Asiatic trade.

Important information in this regard is provided by the 'General Statements' from 1683 onwards and the 'Collocation of Sales' which run from 1693, two sources which give the proceeds on the sales of each commodity for all the Chambers in great detail.<sup>8</sup> From them it appears that from 1683 onwards the Company more or less regularly sold small consignments of porcelain, but that in 1690 and succeeding years there was a considerable increase in sales, which reached a peak in 1695 when the proceeds amounted to 104,358 guilders. After 1701 this stream suddenly dried up, so that only now and then did very small amounts of porcelain come on the market, mostly in the form of 'confiscated goods' from private individuals. The few hundred guilders involved in this in the period 1702–29 are not worth mentioning and bear no relation to the sums recorded in the preceding years. More detailed investigation falls outside the scope of the present study, but it is indispensable if this sudden fallback is to be explained. For the time being, however, it can only be concluded that around 1700 the Company entirely abandoned (or was forced to abandon) its position as supplier of porcelain to the Netherlands, leaving it to others to fill the gap for nearly thirty years.

Now there were various ways in which the porcelain dealers in the Netherlands could obtain porcelain, both Chinese and Japanese, outside the Company. As far as Japanese porcelain is concerned, it is often forgotten that the Dutch East India Company's men were not the only people who traded with Japan, but that the Chinese too had access to Nagasaki, where they conducted a much more extensive trade than that of the Dutch.<sup>9</sup> Both during the period when the factories in Ching-tê Chên were producing nothing or not enough for export and afterwards Chinese merchants bought Japanese

porcelain and carried it to, among other places, Canton, Amoy, Ningpo, Patani, Tongking and even Batavia. There it could be resold to Europeans and some of it could reach Europe via them.<sup>10</sup>

Another way in which Japanese porcelain could be obtained was through the Company's servants in Nagasaki. Volker thinks that the private trade in Japanese porcelain can only have been very small in sea-chests that passengers and crew on Company ships were officially permitted to bring with them.<sup>11</sup> But he underestimates the fact (although he does mention it) that in 1685 the system of 'free trade' was introduced in Nagasaki, whereby the Company was allowed to spend a sum not exceeding 300,000 taels, while the Dutch might do private purchasing amounting to 40,000 taels.<sup>12</sup> This private trade, which was called Kambang trade, was legal, so that the Company had no option but to tolerate it, and we can be sure that the opportunity was made use of down to the last cent! Only seldom is there anything to be found in the Dutch East India Company archives about the Kambang trade, but there can be no doubt that a great deal of Japanese porcelain, which was sought after and could thus bring in a good profit, came to Batavia and Europe by this means.

Hiroko Nishida, who in her dissertation furnishes much new information about the manufacture, dating, handling and occurrence of Japanese export porcelain, likewise points out the facts mentioned above.<sup>13</sup> She says that alternative tacks must be tried if one wants to find an explanation for the fact that the large quantities of Japanese porcelain mentioned in 17th and 18th century inventories and still to be found in collections of that period even today do not tally with the relatively small quantities handled by the Dutch East India Company, according to the archives. To illustrate this she made an investigation in the records of the customs authorities in Nagasaki, where she discovered that

much larger amounts of exported porcelain are mentioned in the Company's name than in the Company's own documents. In 1709, according to these Japanese sources, 82,275 pieces of porcelain were exported, whereas Volker mentions only 9,820. For 1711 the number is 153,003 pieces as against 9,000 in the Company records and for 1712 as many as 179,246 pieces as against not a single piece in the Company records.<sup>14</sup>

Chinese porcelain was also handled by other people besides the Dutch East India Company. After 1683 it came on the market in Asia again to a greater extent and the English, for example, bought it in Amoy, in Macao and after 1700 also in Canton. They clearly profited from the fact that there was no competition to be feared from the Dutch Company, shipping enormous quantities of porcelain to Europe. In the period before 1712 'China ware' could even amount to as much as 20% of the total shipment from China, this figure probably also including the porcelain transported by the English as private merchandise.<sup>15</sup> This porcelain was re-exported from England again on a large scale, not only to the 'West' (the United States and the Caribbean), Ireland, Germany or Italy, but also and in particular to the Netherlands. This is clear not only from the records of the English East India Company, but also from reports in such periodicals as the *Europeesche Mercurius* and the *Amsterdamse Courant*, in which the arrival in Amsterdam is announced of English ships laden with porcelain and other Chinese goods.<sup>16</sup> The French and the Ostend merchants likewise brought Chinese porcelain into Europe and finally, there were also the private individuals who, among other things, bought porcelain in Batavia, which had been carried there by the junks and which was shipped to the Netherlands either on freight or not.<sup>17</sup>

Thus there were many ways in which the porcelain dealers in the Netherlands could keep up the level of their stocks, but the decision

taken by the Dutch East India Company in 1728 to embark on direct trade with China and to play an active part in the porcelain trade again after over thirty years met with a favourable reception nonetheless. It would, after all, cut out the middlemen, while purchasing would be simpler and imports more regular. Thus it is not surprising that the sale of the porcelain brought back on the *Coxhorn* in 1730 aroused great interest and yielded a profit of over 200%.

## 2 *The porcelain trade with China, 1729–95*

In his two publications Volker gives a comprehensive survey of the Dutch East India Company's trade in Japanese porcelain from its beginning until it came to an end in 1757, but up to now a similar overall survey of the trade in Chinese porcelain has been lacking, since there was scarcely any literature available on the 18th century. J. de Hullu wrote a short article in which some aspects of the porcelain trade with China were touched upon and Cornelis Pronk was brought to the fore as a decoration designer.<sup>18</sup> I. G. A. N. de Vries also gave incidental quotations from the Dutch East India Company records in his book on porcelain,<sup>19</sup> but the Company's documents had still never been used for a systematic study of the subject.

On the basis of such a study an account will now be given, first of all, of the organization of the porcelain trade, both in the Netherlands and China. In this attention will be focused on the 'Requirements' (*Eisen*), the samples, models and drawings that were sent as examples and following that on the buying in in Canton and the contact with the porcelain suppliers, the ordering of porcelain and its stowage in the ships. Next will be discussed the sale in the Netherlands, the place taken by porcelain in the China trade as a whole and the position of the

Dutch East India Company as porcelain supplier to the Netherlands. Finally some attention will also be paid to porcelain that was bought in for Batavia and to porcelain that was shipped to the Netherlands by or for private individuals.

### *a 'Requirements' and instructions. Samples, models and drawings*

The bases on which the supercargos did their buying-in of porcelain were the instructions, and, above all, the 'Requirements for the Return Shipments', lists in which precise descriptions were given of what types of porcelain the directors wanted, what decoration they must bear and in what amounts they must be bought. These 'Requirements' have largely survived. Initially they were drawn up by each Chamber separately, after 1734 at the meeting of the *Heeren XVII* and after 1756 by the China Committee. The deciding factor in this was the prices the various types and models fetched at the sales and it was made abundantly clear when a given sort or type was to be 'excused', *i.e.* when it was not to be bought any longer, because the profits on it were too small.

During the first period of direct trade (1729–35) both Amsterdam and Zeeland gave separate 'Requirements' to their supercargos, who bought in porcelain independently of each other. From the instructions and the letters and papers sent it is possible in a number of cases to discover what the requirements of the directors were as regards porcelain.<sup>20</sup> The Amsterdam 'Requirements' of 1731, which were copied word for word by Zeeland in 1732, ordained: 'Porcelain in variety, mostly blue, blue and gold, white, red and gold, all of beautiful designs in round quantities for 50,000–60,000 guilders'.<sup>21</sup> The most interesting documents are those relating to the *Nieuwliet*, which was in Canton in 1733. The Zeeland Chamber gave the



supercargos on that occasion a chest of samples, which was accompanied by a description of its contents and notes on them setting out in detail how the samples were to be used in buying-in and what was required to be kept to or changed as regards form, size, decoration and colour.<sup>22</sup> Since lists of contents of chests of samples are only rarely found among the records and this list is of interest for more than one reason, it is given here in full:

'Copy of the Bill of Lading of the porcelain mentioned below sent by the Honourable Gentlemen Directors of the East India Company at the Zeeland Chamber with the ship *Nieuwliet* on its departure for China, in order to be used there as models for the trade.

- No. 43 1 bottle
- 44 1 cylindrical vase (*rolwagen*)
- 1 2 square bottles
- 2 2 octagonal ditto
- 5 1 bottle with a long neck
- 6 1 bottle
- 8 2 small cylindrical vases
- 9 1 milk jug
- 47 1 bottle from a set of 7 *duim*\*
- 27 1 tea caddy
- 10 1 tea pot with its stand under it
- 22 1 chocolate cup with saucer
- 65A 1 cup
- 65B 1 saucer
- 63 1 cup and saucer
- 60A 1 openwork cup
- 45 1 bowl and cover with handles and 1 knob on the cover, under it 1 dish of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *duim*
- 66 1 yellow bowl
- 60B 2 butter dishes
- 49 1 bowl and cover
- 48 1 cuspidor
- 42 1 dish with birds 15 *duim* in diameter
- 35 1 dish with birds

- 67 1 French dish
- 36 1 dish with rose
- 38 1 dish
- 46 1 saucer with Letters in monogram
- 50 1 plate
- 17 1 bowl and 1 dish
- 19 2 small dishes

The numbering is unclear, but perhaps these thirty pieces represent a final choice out of 67 or more samples. Further clarification regarding a number of them is given in the notes. Thus No. 8 is described as: 'Two cylindrical vases somewhat wider at the bottom like No. 44, in types of 8, 10 to 20–22 *duim* and from 22 up to 44 *duim* with short necks'. In view of these different sizes cylindrical vases could have been used not only as separate decorative pieces, but also as 'beakers', *i.e.* beaker-shaped vases, forming part of chimney-piece or cupboard garnitures. That is certainly the case with the 'bottles', as is clear from No. 47: 'A bottle from a set 6 *duim* in height. Of sets of this kind some more to be taken of 4,  $4\frac{1}{2}$ , 5 and  $5\frac{1}{2}$  *duim* and also of larger sorts of 6, 8–12 *duim*'. No. 66, a piece of *famille jaune*, was not approved of: 'A yellow bowl of which the painting is only good enough for painting other things after it, except for the yellow that is in it, which yellow must be kept out of it'.

One of the most interesting samples is undoubtedly No. 46: 'A plate with letters in monogram V:N:O:C: intertwined with each other, of which 4 services are to be made, each service for 24 persons'. This monogram stands for *Verenigde Nederlandsche Oostindische Compagnie* (United Dutch East India Company) and it was probably the intention to present such services to directors or to use them whenever Company meetings were broken off for a dinner. No Chinese porcelain with this monogram is known up to now, but it does appear on a few rare pieces of Japanese porcelain, one in the Africana Museum at Capetown<sup>23</sup> and one in the

\*An Amsterdam *duim* = approximately  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cm.



26 European merchants watching the packing of tea. Painting in enamel colours on a porcelain saucer, diam. 12.8 cm, Chinese, c. 1750. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.

Groningen Museum. (Fig. 30). The sample must have been of a similar type, possibly of Japanese porcelain, but possibly also specially made as a model in Delft.

The notes also make mention of four drawings that were sent in order for porcelain to be made after them.<sup>24</sup> They are described as follows:

'No. 1 is a drawing of French work, in which taste some services may be ordered.  
No. 2 a model of a vase with its cover, which

cover must be made removable, and at the bottom a hole for the tap, together with a cooler in proportion to the vase under it.

No. 3 a flowerpot with foot and handles, with three holes in the base to let the water out, being an ornament for a garden.

No. 4 a ewer and basin according to the drawn model.'

It was evidently hoped that a service in Chinese porcelain after a French pattern would be cheap-

er than the French service itself! The 'cooler' under the vase or fountain (No. 2) is curious, since this term generally denotes a vessel in which bottles of wine could be cooled. It must here be understood as a sort of basin to receive the water.

Since the trade reports of the Zeeland Chamber have not survived, it is not possible to say how far all these requirements were met. However, the Amsterdam supercargos had already written in 1729 that porcelain could seldom or never be obtained on the model of the samples sent out, so that they 'just take as much as possible of what is to be got',<sup>25</sup> and things will have been no different for the Zeelanders.

It is clear from all these documents that the directors had specific porcelain in mind for buying-in, especially in the case of the more expensive kinds, which had to conform to European taste in form and decoration. Since they did not occur among the normal stock-in-trade of the Chinese porcelain dealers, they had to be fired or painted specially. The Chinese porcelain painters were undoubtedly able to paint the motifs required by the Europeans on porcelain that the shopkeepers had in stock in a few weeks or a month, but for unusual forms orders had to be placed with the factories in the 'uplands' and it took months to meet them, so that some models which the Dutch East India Company evidently required could certainly not be supplied before the following trading season. Because the supercargos wanted to round off their trade completely in one and the same season they could not wait for their request for unusual models to be met. They bought in their stock of porcelain as soon as they arrived, since it was, after all, the first commodity that had to be loaded on the ships, and thus they had perforce to content themselves with what was available in the shops. The application of unusual decorations or colour schemes will only have occurred incidentally. At all events, there is nothing to be read about

this in the reports of the Amsterdam supercargos. Thus the services, garden vases, coolers and other fancy porcelains asked for will certainly have turned out differently than had been expected in the Netherlands, if they were shipped back at all, that is.

The decision of the *Heeren XVII* to let the China trade be conducted via Batavia from 1736 onwards had its consequences for the porcelain trade too. In his recommendation on the reorganization of the trade Councillor-in-Ordinary Wijbrand Blom had pointed out that much of the porcelain carried to Batavia by the junks 'in its samples comes from Batavian connoisseurs, who have had it made in China either to give pleasure to their good friends or for their own personal use or for trade', and he had wondered whether the Company could not obtain all the porcelain it needed in the same way, and cheaper than private individuals. He had thus suggested 'that there should be sent from the Netherlands each year 6 complete well-fired and painted samples of each kind of porcelain that is most in demand and that with them negotiations should be carried on as regards their delivery, trade and otherwise'.<sup>26</sup> The *Heeren XVII* adopted Blom's idea, while at the same time they gave fresh stimuli to the junk traffic: '...which (junk) traffic must be recommended for cultivation by the Governor General and Councils with all diligence, while in addition some samples of textiles and drawings of porcelains could be sent from here in order to match the same in this way in China'.<sup>27</sup>

Thus in the firm determination to make a success of the China trade, extra attention was paid to the porcelain trade too and it was the obvious thing to do to ask the Delft Chamber to have 'some elegant models of porcelains' made, 'in order that they, being sent to the Governor General and Councils, shall serve for commanding goods on the model of the same from China'.<sup>28</sup>

What transpired after this is made clear in a

letter to the *Hoge Regering*, most of which has already been quoted by J. de Hullu and Volker.<sup>29</sup> From this it emerges that, remarkably enough, the Delft potters did not consider themselves capable of enamelling polychrome earthenware in their kilns, but that instead drawings were made to serve as models for the Chinese potters. These drawings were the well-known designs by Cornelis Pronk, 'painter and drawing-master of Amsterdam', of which four have so far been found and published.<sup>30</sup> In the contract that the *Heeren XVII* concluded with Pronk it was stipulated that for three years in the first instance he should devote himself completely to the making of designs and models 'of all such porcelains as shall from time to time be required from the Indies, with the colours duly set down, whether blue, gilt or other colours, and in all sorts of fashions'.<sup>31</sup> The first designs were sent to Batavia in five brass boxes and from there they were despatched to Canton and Deshima, for it was thought desirable to try to have porcelain made after these fine coloured drawings in Japan too. It can be taken that the originals remained in Amsterdam and that a set was kept in Batavia as a check.

Since in 1735 the *Hoge Regering* had already sent ships to Canton before the instructions and drawings were received in Batavia, these could not be forwarded until 1736. It then very soon appeared that expectations had been pitched too high here and the supercargos wrote: 'We have not dared to have porcelains made after the drawings sent in such quantity as is stated in Your Honours' orders, since the same came out all too expensive and therefore... it has been contracted for in part'.<sup>32</sup> The price was, indeed, very high. In all the Chinese porcelain dealers asked over 64,000 guilders for the requested 46 dinner services of 371 pieces, 46 tea services, 42 'vases with covers and water basins' and 100 chimney-piece sets, all painted in accordance with the drawings by Pronk. No wonder the supercargos did not dare take a decision on

their own initiative and merely had a small quantity made as an experiment, part of which was sent to the Netherlands on the *Huijs te Spijke*, part to Batavia on the *Magdalena*.

The comments on this purchase reached Batavia in 1738. The *Heeren XVII* were of the opinion that the price would certainly come down. They wrote: 'In respect of the new samples of Porcelains, the ministers write that the ordering of the same proved quite expensive and that for this reason they did not dare to have the whole quantity made as had been requested. However, it seems to us that the first would have been the worst and that the potters would certainly have got used to it in time, or, if the drawings might have been found rather too full of work, especially the grounds or the mosaic work, which is there regarded as the most time-consuming, something could certainly be left out, or easier work could be done instead. This we shall best be able to see when the samples sent with the *Magdalena* to Batavia arrive in the Netherlands and it can thus be ascertained what returns they bring in on their sale.'<sup>33</sup> However, the supercargos had no success in the years thereafter either in obtaining such porcelain at a reasonable price. It was not so much the painting that posed problems, as the *Heeren XVII* thought, but the modelling of forms that the potters were not used to. In particular the oval basins for the water vases or fountains proved exceptionally fragile because of the tensions in the material.<sup>34</sup> Despite this, however, small consignments were ordered time and again and also despatched, either via Batavia or directly to the Netherlands.

In 1739 it was decided to put a stop to the purchase of this sort of porcelain, since no profit was made on it.<sup>35</sup> The possibility was still left open of having larger quantities made from a single drawing in the future, but there is nothing in the records to show that use was made of that possibility. The Chinese saw an opportunity for a version of their own and this they



27 The weighing of the tea chests. Gouache on paper, 37.5 × 30.5 cm, Canton, c. 1780. Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Min. 6, fol. 31.



28 'Wortel China', china root. Copper engraving from J. Nicuhof, *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie* etc., Amsterdam 1665, 16.5 × 11 cm.



29 'Rheubarbarum Verum', the rhubarb plant. Copper engraving from A. Kircher, *Toonneel van China, etc.*, Amsterdam 1668, 21 × 16.8 cm.



30 Porcelain dish with monogram V.N.O.C., painted in underglaze blue, diam. 24 cm, Japanese, Arita, early 18th century. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

brought on to the market, for among the porcelain shipped in the *Bethlehem* and *Scheijbeek* in 1740 were several pieces which tallied in their decoration with the drawings by Pronk, 'which appears to be the only work that the Chinese have continued with their own pattern'.<sup>36</sup>

In all Pronk made four designs, each of which had to serve for the painting of all types of porcelain asked for. Each year the designs were

marked by a different letter, namely A, B, C and D.<sup>37</sup> Two of them, 'the parasol lady' and 'the doctors', are known (Figs. 31–37), while 'the arbour' is certainly also by Pronk.<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 38). The fourth design (the third in the series) could very well have been 'the handwashing', which Howard and Ayers also pointed to in their discussion of a water-vase in the Mottahedeh collection<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 39). Water-vases were indeed



31 Cornelis Pronk (1691–1759), design for a plate, decorated with 'the parasol ladies'. Watercolour, 19.1 × 16.2 cm, 1734. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

asked for and such a decoration would also fit in very well with the series of Chinoiserie designs that Pronk made. In Japan the high price was likewise a hindrance to having porcelain made after Pronk's designs. However, there exist Japanese plates and saucers with the 'parasol lady', which will have been ordered by private



32 Cornelis Pronk, design for a salt cellar, decorated with 'the parasol ladies'. Watercolour, 8.5 × 5.3 cm, 1734. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



33 Top of the salt cellar in Fig. 32. Watercolour, 4.9 × 7.2 cm, 1734. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



34 Cornelis Pronk, design for a tea cup and saucer, decorated with 'the three doctors', Watercolour, 18.7 × 12.5 cm, c. 1735. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



35 Plate, decorated in underglaze blue with 'the parasol ladies' after the design by Cornelis Pronk (Fig. 31). Porcelain, diam. 22 cm, Chinese, 1736–8. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

individuals, using the Company's drawings (Fig. 40).<sup>40</sup> From all this it is clear that the porcelain trade was primarily determined by economic factors: if a loss was made on an article then it had to be removed from the trade.

Apart from this exceptional porcelain with decorations after Pronk, ordinary ware decorated 'according to the fancies of the Chinese'

was naturally ordered as well. The 'Requirements' for this that had been sent to Canton via Batavia from 1734 onwards show scarcely any change over the first ten years, the *Heeren XVII* repeatedly confining themselves to remarks like: 'Porcelains, as much as shall be needed for the bottom layer, according to the 'Requirements' of 1734'.

These 'Requirements' of 1734 had become the standard form, adapted to the buying in for a single ship and evidently very satisfactory. They also reveal which kinds – particularly ordinary tableware – there was a constant demand for at that time.<sup>41</sup> Quantities were not specified, it being left to the supercargos to work out the proportions until they had enough of each kind. Sometimes, however, there was a request for extra porcelain of which the stock in the Netherlands was too small to meet the demand.<sup>42</sup>

Not until 1744 was any additional attention paid to the porcelain trade again, this undoubtedly coming about because the devaluation of the tael in 1743 had made buying-in cheaper. At that time apart from the normal ware small quantities of other kinds of porcelain were asked for, of which fifteen samples were sent. It is notable that all these new kinds were required to be supplied in blue-and-white only and with decorations 'according to the genius of the Chinese'.<sup>43</sup> In the 'Requirements' for 1746, 1747 and 1748 reference was likewise made to these samples and additional models were despatched as well.<sup>44</sup>

In 1750 the *Heeren XVII* wrote again about orders in accordance with drawings: 'Various drawings of the porcelains are being sent in duplicate, which must be kept to, but if none can be found of the shape and size as in the drawings, the same must be ordered for next year and their place filled by common dinner plates, slop bowls and tea and coffee cups and saucers...'<sup>45</sup> It may be noted that orders are spoken of here once again, for the first time since the episode of the Pronk porcelain. This will undoubtedly have been occasioned by the fact that since 1749 the supercargos had been allowed, with the tacit approval of the Chinese authorities, to remain behind after the departure of their ships in order to finish their business.

It would be going too far to enumerate all the

drawings and samples, so only the most interesting will be mentioned as examples from now on. In addition to these new models the kinds that had long been asked for were now also ordered in accordance with drawings. In the case of tea and coffee cups and saucers in particular as many as ten or twelve different forms and decorations were sometimes asked for.

In 1751 thirteen drawings and twenty samples were sent to China, among other things for strawberry bowls and herring dishes, 'the painting being left to the imagination of the Chinese, except that a herring must be painted in the herring dishes'. The 73 drawings that were sent in 1754 depicted, among other things, cupboard garnitures, 'olive green with raised white flowers and scrolling green foliage', cream jugs, 'Dutch pin trays or pots', 'orange pots', egg cups with matching spoons and cylindrical vases 'entirely in celadon green with lions' heads that must be violet'.<sup>46</sup>

In 1755 the supercargos received a chest of 42 samples, mostly cups and saucers, among which the sample marked BB 'a wooden cup of large tea ware' is particularly interesting.<sup>47</sup> Wooden models are very seldom mentioned in the 'Requirements' or other documents. They must have been highly exceptional and certainly not a general rule as has been thought up to now.<sup>48</sup> This example will have related to tea ware of a new or unusual form, of which the sample was intentionally made of wood, since the Chinese potter could use it as a mould and thus obtain the exact form required by the customer.

Although not a single example of all these drawings has been preserved, one nevertheless gets a rather strong impression from the 'Requirements' that they mainly concerned the forms and not the decorations of the kinds depicted. It is true that the colour required is given in detail in each case, including those in which reference is made to drawings, but only rarely is anything more precise said about the



pattern. The descriptions of the herring dishes in 1751 and the cupboard garnitures in 1754 can thus be called exceptional.

After 1744 emphasis is laid much more strongly than before on the requirement that plates, sauceboats, bouillon cups and other tableware must be decorated with one and the same pattern so that 'sets' of any required size could be made up. The same applies to the drinking vessels and the *Heeren XVII* were clearly reacting here to changing customs as regards eating and drinking and the higher demands made by the public in consequence.

In the spring of 1755 the *Heeren XVII* decided to take the China trade into their own hands again from 1757 onwards. For the last time a 'requirements for Porcelains' was sent to Batavia and in it one can clearly detect the opinion that economies must now be made. Numerous kinds, for which express orders had still been placed the year before, now had to be 'excused', especially the more de luxe porcelain.

In the 'Requirements' for 1756, now drawn up by the China Committee, these economies were continued. It was impressed upon the supercargos that they must not buy any curiosities, services or cupboard garnitures, but only 'current ware' such as dinner plates, tea and coffee cups and saucers and other porcelains that brought in a fixed profit. They might certainly, however, pay a little extra for finely-painted porcelain, since that was easier to sell in the Netherlands. Three drawings were sent of a coffee cup, a chocolate cup with a handle and an oval shaving bowl.<sup>49</sup>

Remarkably enough, however, there exists another list of 'Requirements' for 1756 in the papers of the China Committee, albeit this one was never sent. It is more extensive, includes more kinds and refers to a larger number of drawings.<sup>50</sup> It is not clear why these 'Requirements' were not used, but perhaps they were not ready in time, or perhaps it was thought that purchases made in accordance with them would turn out too expensive.

In 1757 too straightforward 'Requirements' were drawn up, almost exclusively for ware in current demand, and this had to serve for two years at once.<sup>51</sup> However, in November 1758 the porcelain was sold that had been brought to the Netherlands on the *Slooten* in accordance with the 'Requirements' of 1756. This consignment brought in a profit of 34,519 guilders, over 233%, and such a return was an inducement for the 'Requirements' for the next year, which had already been fixed, to be revised immediately and replaced by a more extensive list. The warehousekeeper G. Titsing sent new 'Requirements' off at top speed after the supercargos, who had already set off, with the following note: 'Gentlemen, I have today sent to you on a Company vessel further "Requirements for Porcelains" which you must observe in place of the "Requirements for Porcelains" which will have come to you at the same time as the other papers and which is here completely altered, with which, commending you to the continuing protection of Heaven...'.<sup>52</sup>

These new 'Requirements' were, however, a copy of those that had not been sent in 1756 (see above), probably because there was no time for anything else. The drawings belonging to them were also sent and by a happy chance all these drawings have been preserved.<sup>53</sup> (Figs. 41–47) Their importance is obvious. Apart from the designs by Pronk, the design for a tea service of 1736 made by Christian Precht for the Swedish Company, the design of the Leake-Okeover plate and a recently discovered design for a dinnerplate,<sup>54</sup> none of the drawings sent to China in such quantities by all the Companies and by private individuals now remain. The Dutch East India Company alone must have had hundreds made and those now discovered are characteristic of the series sent as models year after year.

The series consists of seven sheets with in all 33 designs done in pencil and numbered 1–23.



36 Dish, decorated in enamel colours with 'the four doctors' after the design by Cornelis Pronk. Porcelain, diam. 19.2 cm, Chinese, 1738. Groningen Museum, Groningen.



38 Dish, decorated in enamel colours with 'the arbour' after a design by Cornelis Pronk. Porcelain, diam. 22.4 cm, Chinese, 1740. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



37 *Pattipan*, decorated in underglaze blue with 'the three doctors' after the design by Cornelis Pronk (Fig. 34). Porcelain, 12.9 × 8.7 cm, Chinese, 1740. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Some of the designs are included under a single number, numbers 11 and 12 are missing and numbers 22 and 23 are not described. The designs are explained in the 'Requirements' as follows:

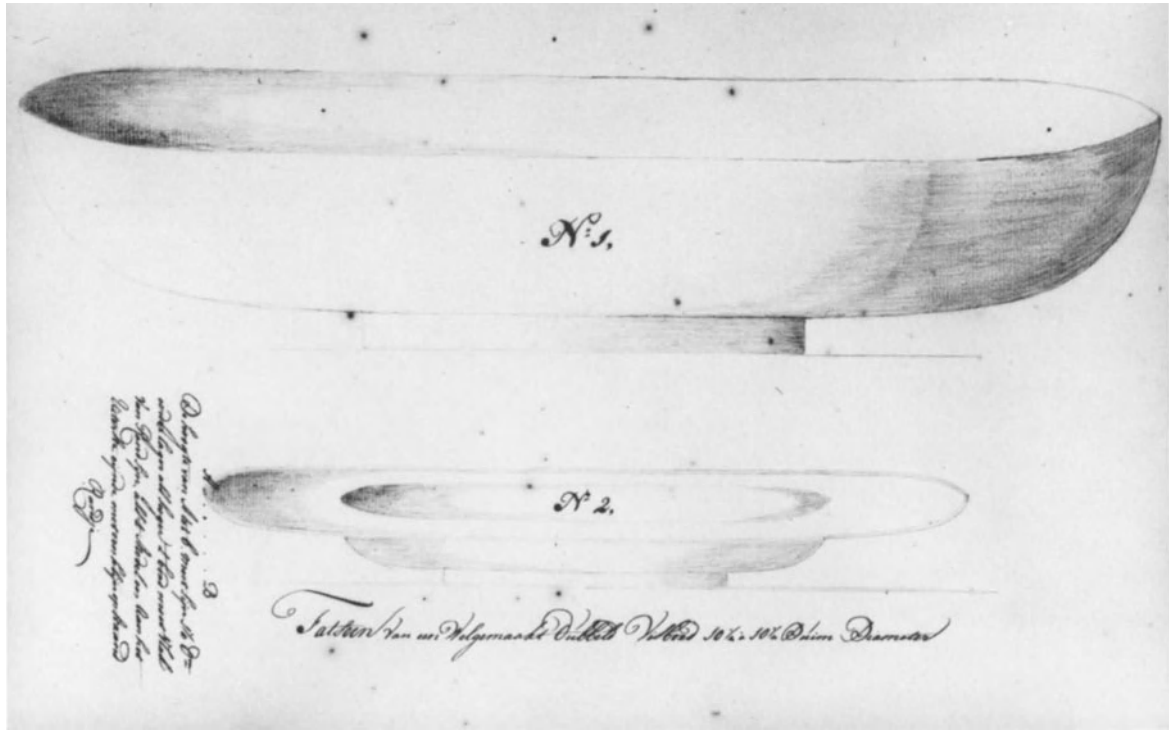
- No. 1: '100 fish dishes blue and white with brown rim as in the model drawing sent as No. 1' (Fig. 41).
- No. 2: '2,000 double dinner plates as on the drawing with the fish dishes, these must be flat and in all only  $1\frac{1}{8}$  *duim* deep from the flat base to the raised rim as the model drawing No. 2. diameter  $10\frac{1}{4}$  to  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *duim*' (Fig. 41).
- No. 3: '1,000 cuspidors without handles, of 2 or 3 patterns and of forms as in the models No. 3, four different models' (Fig. 42).
- No. 4: '1,000 tea pots as the models No. 4, four different models, blue-and-white, brown rim' (Fig. 43).
- No. 5: '200 cupboard sets of which 100 blue-and-white, 50 blue-and-white with flowers and 50 Chinese Imari, height 16–17 *duim*, the pots 14–15 *duim*, the vases in the manner of model 5' (Fig. 44).
- No. 6: '8,000 bouillon cups with their saucers, the cup or bowl must be  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint liquid measure in content, as model No. 6, and 100,000 bowls of  $\frac{1}{2}$  pint content, closely following model drawing No. 6' (Fig. 45).
- No. 7: '40,000 coffeehouse cups with and without saucers, blue-and-white, massive and weighty in body, as the drawing in model No. 7. N.B. Above all no ribbed' (Fig. 45).
- No. 8: '200 soup bowls covered and with handles, with a plate under them, No. 8' (Fig. 45).
- No. 9: '1,400 milk jugs as the models No. 9' (Fig. 46).



39 Water vase, decorated in enamel colours with 'the hand-washing' after a design by Cornelis Pronk. Porcelain, Chinese, c. 1739. From D. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West*, Vol. I, London/New York 1978, p. 295.



40 Plate, decorated in underglaze blue and enamel colours with 'the parasol ladies' after the design by Cornelis Pronk (Fig. 31). Porcelain, diam. 26.8 cm, Japanese, Arita, c. 1740. Groningen Museum, Groningen.



41 Examples of a fish dish and a double fish) plate. Pencil drawing, 26,5 × 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

No. 10: '10,000 chocolate cups with handles as the model No. 10. N.B. These must be absolutely the same size as the drawn models, larger are unsaleable'. (Fig. 46).

Nos. 11 and 12 are missing.

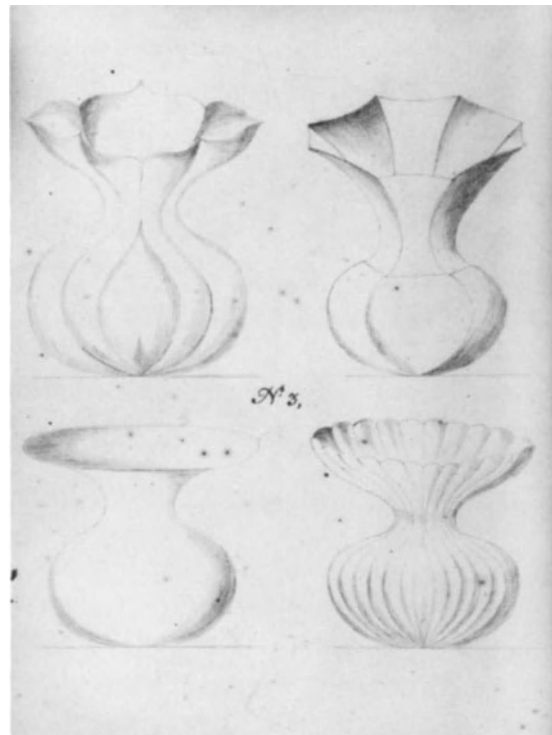
Nos. 13, 16 and 17. '14,000 Dutch double coffee cups and saucers with straight upright rims as in the model drawing, brown rim' (Fig. 47).

Nos. 14, 18 and 19: '130,000 large Dutch type coffee cups and saucers. cf. model' (Fig. 47).

No. 15: 'large Dutch tea cups and saucers, a little smaller than the above cf. the model drawing No. 15' (Fig. 47).

No. 20: 'Dutch medium and small tea cups and saucers as the model drawing No. 20' (Fig. 47).

No. 21: '1000 caudle cups with handles and



42 Examples of cuspidors. Pencil drawing, 26.5 × 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

saucers, fine ware, extra white and bright blue stoneware as the model drawing No. 21' (Fig. 47).

Nos. 22 and 23 (Fig. 47) are not mentioned in these 'Requirements', but in all probability they were related to the two kinds of coffee cups with handles and the tea cups with handles, which are referred to in the descriptions of the drawings of 1756.

The models show that people in the Netherlands were not always aware of the technical problems facing the Chinese potters. In the case of the cuspidors in particular forms are found which were borrowed from metal examples and which it would only have been possible to imitate in porcelain with the greatest difficulty.

The primary importance of the drawings is that they now enable us to link the 18th-century names for different kinds of porcelain with definite objects. Thus, for example, the difference becomes clearer between coffeehouse cups and saucers, coffee, tea, caudle and chocolate cups, which vary in form and size. On the other hand it also emerges that one and the same form was sometimes described by different names, as is the case with No. 6.

In 1759 new 'Requirements' were again sent, accompanied by nine samples. These no longer governed the total purchase of porcelain, but only the assortment for a single ship. The amounts mentioned could be multiplied according to the number of ships and this method was kept to from then on.

In the 'Requirements' of 1759 and the years that followed the number of kinds of porcelain showed a sharp increase and the decorations became much more varied, while the number of samples sent grew in proportion, up to 150 to 170 items a year after 1760. The expansion of the porcelain trade, which can also be deduced from the rise in the average sum laid out on the porcelain per ship (see Appendices 8), was

made possible by the profits that were made on porcelain (see Appendix 9). That these exceeded all expectations is clear from an estimate made by Samuel Radermacher, one of the directors, of the proceeds on the porcelain brought back to Middelburg by the *Velsen* in 1761. He counted on a profit of 110%, but the sale resulted in one of over 151%!<sup>55</sup>

Among the many new kinds and sorts may be mentioned the ewers with basins in the form of 'a shell with 3 small feet', the 'plats de menages' also known in Japanese porcelain, butter dishes, coolers, salad bowls and coffee pots (see under the kinds in question in Chapter IV).

The 'Requirements' of 1767, in which reference is made to 167 samples, contain a comment on the competition the Company was meeting in the Netherlands from English earthenware, which was on the upgrade.<sup>56</sup> The 'handsome forms' of this in particular proved to have an appeal for the public and the Company wanted to see whether such ware could be imitated both as to forms and decoration in Chinese porcelain. The China Committee sent along five 'English models': 'a round salad bowl with inverted corners', a tea pot, a milk jug, a cuspidor and a butter dish with stand, while in the following year another strawberry dish was sent.

Towards 1770 an equilibrium was reached in the porcelain trade and the reins were slackened a little. The 'Requirements' remained comprehensive, but there were not many new kinds and the number of samples sent declined sharply. The comments on the buying-in also became briefer and less specific than had been the case in the years before. Profits began to decline, but this does not seem to have aroused any concern in the China Committee. The directors now left part of the choice of decorations to the supercargos, who were given detailed advice before they left the Netherlands as to what was or was not fashionable and profitable. This greater personal involvement in the buying-in

is also evident from the 'new models of double Dutch coffee and tea cups and saucers, in copper, provided by the assistant Certon... in entirely new drawings made by him', which were passed to the Chinese porcelain dealers in 1771 and 1772.<sup>57</sup> What was meant by this were copper engravings, which J. P. Certon had probably had made in the Netherlands and which, after they had been approved by the directors, he took with him on his first voyage to China in 1771.

In general the China Committee aimed at purchasing the somewhat more expensive, better fired and decorated porcelain rather than the cheap ware, but on the other hand it must not be 'extravagant'. Thus large services were no longer so popular, not only because heavy losses were sometimes incurred on them, but also because it was more practical to have the various types of tableware painted with the same pattern and auction them separately in small lots so that the buyers in the Netherlands could make up their services themselves.

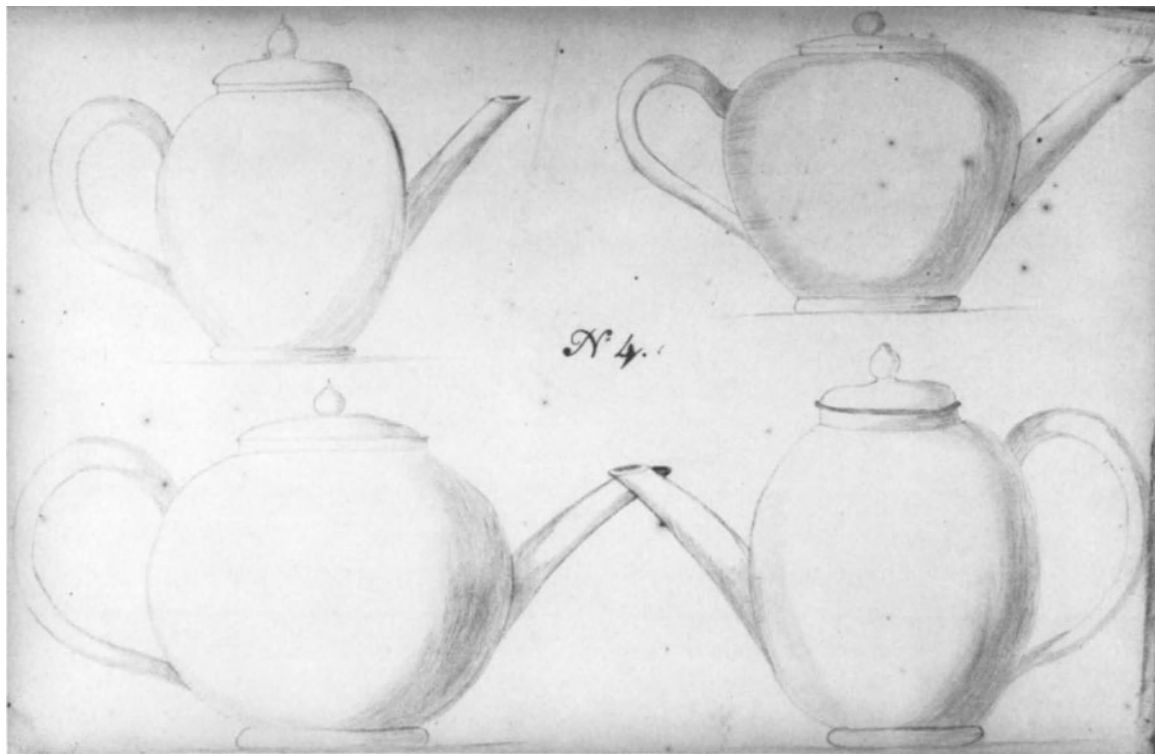
The most interesting 'Requirements' of this period are those of 1777 and 1778. In 1777 the directors sent a number of samples, 'because it distressed us that our competitors and especially that the Swedes brought back more popular kinds than us each year'.<sup>58</sup> These samples, which are described more fully in the papers of the China Committee, are important because in this case more value was attached to the decoration than the form. In previous years descriptions such as 'blue-and-white, brown rim with flowers' or 'enamel colours, Dresden manner' had sufficed. The Company had only rarely made use of decorations with European themes for its trade assortment, for they are only occasionally mentioned in the 'Requirements', but now a demand for them had evidently arisen, since competitors had scored a success with them, so the China Committee sent models of 'the basket of fruit', 'the pattern that goes by the name of the

'cherry-picker' and other 'European decorations'.<sup>59</sup>

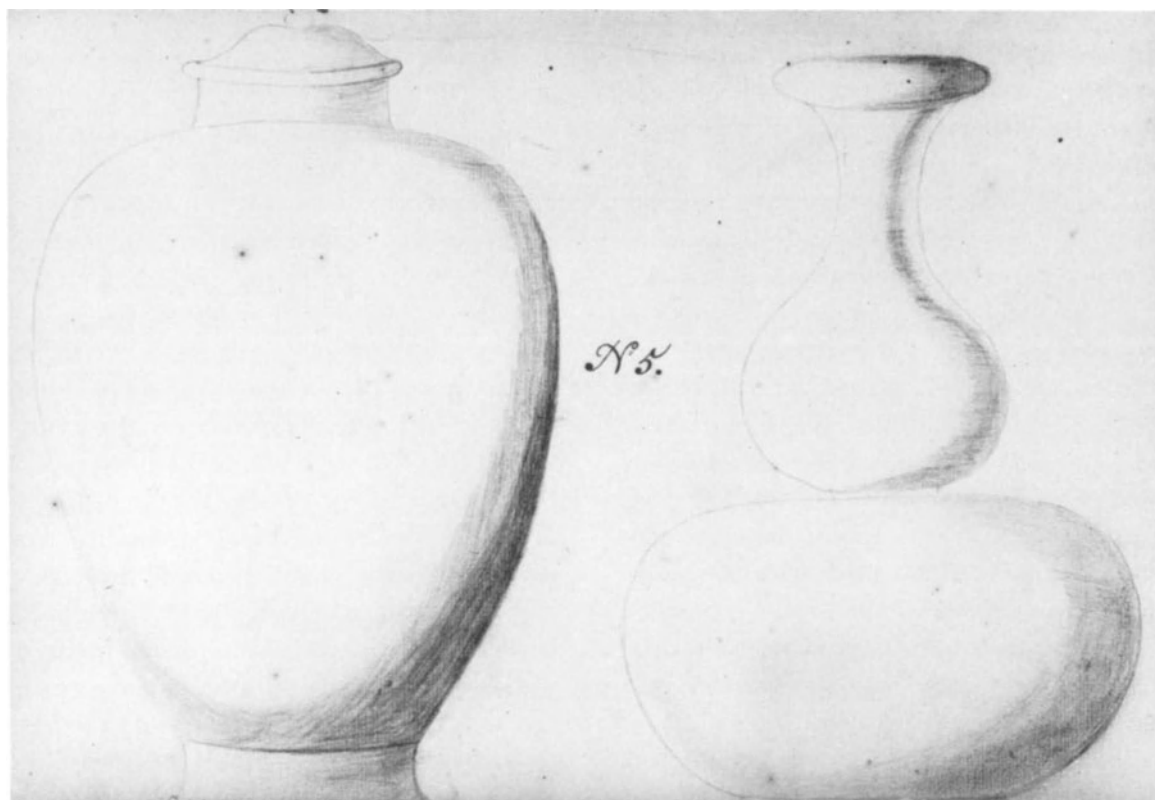
In 1778 too the China Committee continued on these lines 'because the varieties must in large measure constitute the value of each shipment',<sup>60</sup> Eighty-seven samples were sent, not only of kinds and decorations that were in vogue, but also of porcelains on which losses had been suffered. The latter, of course, had to serve as examples of what must not be brought in. After use the samples had to be sent back to the Netherlands so that the shipments could be checked.

Apart from new examples of 'the basket of fruit' 'the cherry-picker' and the porcelains decorated with cartouches showing 'oranges', which were said to be particularly popular in the Netherlands, there were also sent a dish 'with the crucifixion of Christ' (also called 'the passion'), a chocolate cup 'on which is painted Neptune, etc.', a white cup decorated in *encre de chine* with 'figures and no flowers', an octagonal cupboard garniture with 'parsley work' and four Delft figures of which the Chinese copies were required to be 'certainly somewhat more handsome'. In addition porcelain was also wanted 'with painting of the town of Canton with the ships on the roadstead, of tea packing and of the manufacture of porcelain, which three decorations are often brought back for private individuals'. A number of these descriptions are, exceptionally, clear enough for it to be possible to relate them to surviving pieces of porcelain with similar patterns, *e.g.* the 'cherry picker' (Fig. 48), the Crucifixion (Fig. 49), Neptune (Fig. 50), tea packing (Fig. 26) and the factory at Canton (Fig. 51). Thus one can gain a good idea of what the *Heeren XVII* wanted.

The supercargos were not so taken with these changes and only met the 'Requirements' in part, also because the costs of having porcelain painted with special patterns were rather high (see p. 128). In the Netherlands the directors



43 Examples of tea pots. Pencil drawing, 26.5 × 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

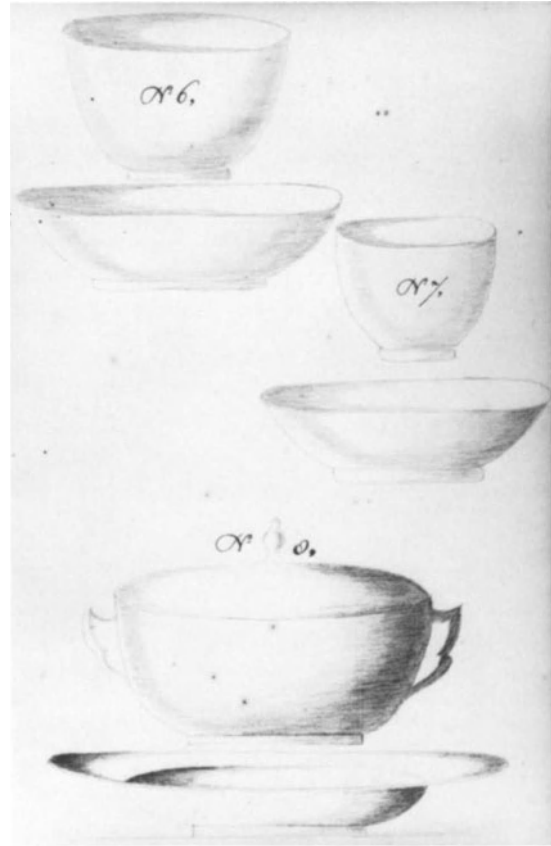


44 Examples of a 'beaker' vase and a vase with cover, belonging to a cupboard garniture. Pencil drawing, 26.5 × 14 cm, 1758.

wanted to see what the reactions of the public would be first, so no new samples were sent in 1779, reference merely being made to those of previous years. In addition maximum prices were set for the buying-in of the various kinds and decorations. Unfortunately, no itemized proceeds or sales are known for porcelain with the 'new, fashionable patterns', but evidently they did not come up to expectations. The 'Requirements' of 1780 already make no further mention of them and the China Committee even advised the supercargos to have coffee pots and other things painted 'in the Chinese manner, as you think best'. They also urged them very strongly to buy above all porcelain in current demand, on which a profit was ensured.<sup>61</sup>

All this can be described as characteristic of the China Committee's method as regards the porcelain trade. It clearly emerges that the directors certainly had a keen eye for new developments in the field of fashion and taste and took initiatives on that basis. But if the returns became too low, then they also put an end to the experiment at once, regardless of potential possibilities over a longer term. By contrast to Pronk's time, they now no longer saw any point in making investments.

During the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War the porcelain trade, like everything else, was at a standstill, but in 1782 it became possible to send ships again and these took on in Canton the stocks made ready by the supercargos. After peace had been concluded, the aim was to bring the China trade rapidly back to its former prosperity again and, just as had been the case with the reorganizations of 1734 and 1755, the porcelain trade too received fresh impulses. The 'Requirements' of 1784 are instructive in that respect. New samples were sent and it was requested that the decorations be 'painted according to the newest taste'.<sup>62</sup> From the description of these samples it appears that 'nosegays', 'the water flower', 'little flowers', 'festoon borders' and 'garlanded and scalloped borders' were



45 Examples of a soup cup of half-pint bowl with saucer, of a coffeehouse cup and saucer and of a tureen with cover and stand. Pencil drawing, 26.5 x 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

considered very fashionable, entirely in agreement with the decorations in the Louis XVI style then adorning European porcelain. The number of de luxe kinds such as fish bowls, strawberry dishes and fountains with taps of white Chinese copper remained limited, however, and attention was focused mainly on bowls, tea and coffee cups and saucers, plates and all those other kinds which were known to be in constant demand and which 'in fine samples and designs' would certainly bring in a profit. What the purchasers in the Netherlands were most concerned with were 'the cheapness and the forms', so that if a varied, fashionable and not too expensive assortment could be offered each year 'then our purchases in this article cannot fail to win more fame than be-



fore', wrote the China Committee.<sup>63</sup> Tea and dinner services were also asked for again and samples were sent of, for instance, the services that the Swedes bought in Canton. In order to be able to meet the competition from the 'numerous factories now in Europe for that earthenware in which people lay themselves out to make good or desired forms', examples were sent of European porcelain, so that the supercargos could purchase more selectively.

It was not entirely by chance that the directors took a certain Willem Tros into their service as a seaman precisely in 1783. 'This person has been in the service of the Loosdrecht Porcelain Factory, has decent parents and knowledge of the porcelains, above all of the forms and what is most in demand. If you think you can make good use of the same for the Company, then your Honours may retain him, and take him into your office as bookkeeper at a salary of 60 guilders a month'.<sup>64</sup>

In all probability Tros had been a decorator at the Loosdrecht factory, for when he arrived in Canton in 1784, he gave proof of his skill by making a number of designs and decorating porcelain with them (or possibly having it decorated). The China Committee's reaction was enthusiastic. The dinner plates and the tea and coffee cups and saucers after his designs proved greatly to the liking of the public and Tros was given a rise. In addition the directors promised to send 'printed drawings of flowers etc. so that Tros will be able to occupy himself in the off-season with sketching new designs'.<sup>65</sup> The directors saw a great deal in this man. They gave him rapid promotion and even suggested bringing him back to the Netherlands, so that he could keep abreast of the constant changes in fashion and taste. It is no longer possible to discover whether the prints really were sent and, alas, nothing more is said in the records about new designs by him, but in the nine years that he was in charge of the porcelain in Canton he undoubtedly left his mark on the Company's

assortment. Willem Tros was the only person ever to have made designs in Canton specially for the Company and with this it is at last possible to correct the impression that the Company had a whole staff of draughtsmen at work in China in the 18th century.<sup>66</sup>

The year 1787 saw a reversal. There had already been 'very little activity in the East Indian porcelain' in the Netherlands for some months and the supercargos were ordered not to buy anything extra, but only 'current articles and such as can be brought down to very cheap prices'.<sup>67</sup> In the years that followed too porcelain proved to sell badly and the 'Requirements' were further curtailed. Yet the directors were certainly well aware of where the problems lay. They were rightly enthusiastic about the porcelain after the designs by Tros, which had been able to compete with Hague or Amstel porcelain, especially in the rather more exclusive kinds. From the many letters and comments it emerges that they really were making a conscientious attempt to combine low production costs with a fashion-conscious choice of forms and decorations, but that at the same time they were no longer able to offer the possibility of putting that ideal into practice over a longer term. In addition to the costs of buying-in the enormous communication gap was undoubtedly a hampering factor. At least three years elapsed between the despatch of the models and the results of the sales and it took two years before the supercargos knew whether their purchases of the various kinds had been a success or not.

The last surviving 'Requirements' date from 1793 and it is precisely here that we encounter a most remarkable request made to the supercargos. '... we require as an experiment 4-5,000 lbs of Porcelain clay as ballast'.<sup>68</sup> It is no longer possible to discover what the directors intended to do with this, but in any case their request was not granted. The supercargos wrote: 'We have not been able to send the porcelain clay required

to Your Honours... because according to the report of the Porcelain merchants the same would in the first place have to be smuggled and secondly they would not then be able to obtain more than 10 piculs of it each year at a cost of 17 rials per picul for china clay, 13 for semi china clay and 10 for ordinary china clay, while thirdly they know no means of being able to get hold of the binding material (*petuntse*) which is needed for the preparation of the aforesaid clay'.<sup>69</sup>

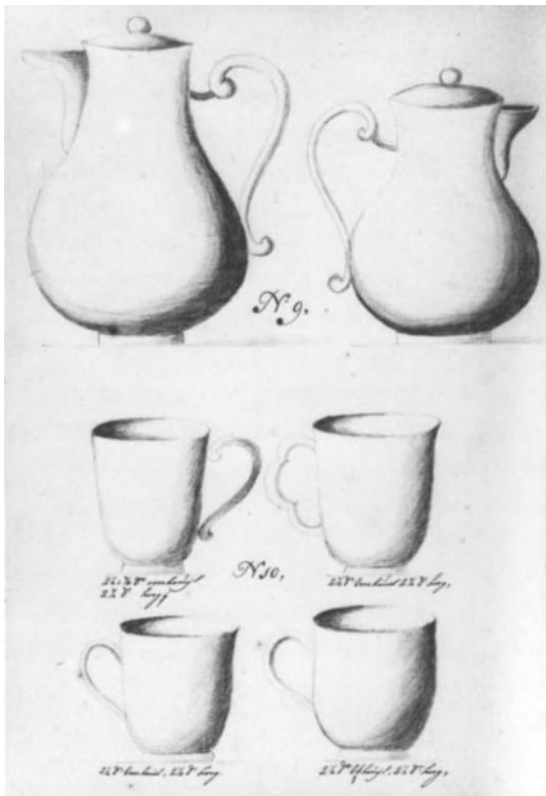
The reason for the falling-off of the porcelain trade was to be found in the declining proceeds on the sales and thus in the public. The Chinese mode had passed its peak and the demand for Chinese porcelain slackened, because there were ever more alternatives available. It was not for nothing that from 1787 onwards the directors cut all the more de luxe kinds out of

the assortment, for it was precisely those that the public that could afford them now bought in English earthenware or European porcelain, which were considered much more tasteful. Moreover, the quality of the Chinese porcelain, especially the cheaper pieces, showed a sharp deterioration at the end of the 18th century. The glaze was greyish-white and not nearly so firm and even as that on European porcelain. The ware became coarser and thicker, the painting more careless and even a specially made service, like that presented to Princess Wilhelmina in 1791, contrasted most unfavourably with the quality of European porcelain of the time.<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 52).

Thus the porcelain trade found itself in a vicious circle: because of changing taste the proceeds on the sales declined, so that economies had to be made on the buying-in, which concentrated on lower-quality products. The attempts to pursue a more efficient policy failed and by the last years of the Dutch East India Company's existence porcelain had become a commodity of minor importance, which scarcely received any attention any more.

### *b The buying-in and ordering of porcelain*

Porcelain was regarded by the Dutch and other East India Companies as an ideal item to serve as an underlayer in loading the ships at Canton. It gave off no smell or taste, so that it could not taint the aromatic tea, while a layer of chests of porcelain also checked the damp. In the literature too much emphasis is sometimes placed on the function of the porcelain as ballast. It certainly served that purpose, but it was not its primary function, for it is clear from stowage reports and the like that the ballast which really provided the weight was composed of tin, spelter and also gravel.



46 Examples of milk jugs and chocolate cups with handles. Pencil drawing, 26.5 × 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

The fact that porcelain had to be placed at the bottom of the hold as the first layer had its consequences for the buying-in. During the period of direct trade up to 1735 the supercargos went round the porcelain shops immediately after their arrival in order to obtain what they needed. It was impossible for them in so doing to proceed entirely in accordance with the 'Requirements' and they simply took what they could get. The whole point was to buy in enough porcelain in a short time to form the lower layer, so that there would be no delay in loading the tea. Thus no orders were placed during this period, since the deliveries took too much time.

The buying-in was done both from ordinary merchants as well as from specialist porcelain shops or 'boutiques', which were to be found in the streets of the part of the city just in front of the walls of Canton. Out of considerations of competition the supercargos bought not just from one, but from a number of dealers. The names of their suppliers are to be found in the daybooks and the 'unloading books', lists with a detailed specification of the porcelain packed in the chests. The sums laid out by the supercargos give an indication of the positions of the suppliers in respect of each other too. Thus it appears that each year a good three-quarters of the total amount of porcelain was bought from three big merchants: Labin (with his partners Tiqua and Seyqua), Tan Soequa and Tan Tinqu. These merchants did not specialize in porcelain, for they also supplied tea, silk and other commodities. Tan Tinqu served from 1730 onwards as guarantor for the Dutch and had stipulated that he should be given preference as long as his porcelain was of the same price and quality as that of the others. In addition, mention is also made of some twenty suppliers, most of whom likewise sold tea and suchlike and evidently dealt in porcelain as a sideline. Some, such as 'Tan Chinaware', Manuel Quayqua and Giqua (alias Conscientia) mainly

supplied the rather more exclusive kinds of porcelain and can perhaps be counted among the 'boutiquiers'.

Two percent discount was deducted from the total price for breakages, while it was the custom for the dealer to pay the export dues, which he naturally passed on in his price. These dues were levied according to the weight of the chests and this gave rise to the curious situation of coarse, heavy stoneware being taxed more heavily and thus working out more expensive than the lighter, fine porcelain.

When the China trade came under Batavia, the placing of orders became a normal part of porcelain buying. The Dutch East India Company differed here from the English, which only began placing orders from 1774 onwards.<sup>71</sup> Orders served a dual purpose: on the one hand it was possible to have unusual models and/or decorations made, on the other part of the lower layer needed in the next trading season could be got ready in advance. Thus the Pronk porcelain, for example, was already ordered in the autumn, because the factories at Ch'ing-tê-Chên had to fire the models specially and a great deal of time was needed if such an order was to be got ready for the next year's trading season. The ordinary porcelain on the other hand, which the factories mostly had in stock and which could be painted in Canton if necessary, was not ordered until the spring, when the supercargos left for Batavia. Then, on their return in August or September part of the consignment was already to hand and could be loaded at once on to the return ships.

During the first period the orders mentioned in the reports of the supercargos mainly relate to the laying-in of such stocks. Thus the 'Requirements' are not detailed and a great deal was left to the initiative of the supercargos. Not until 1749, when it became possible to remain behind in the off-season, was porcelain again made after special samples and drawings. The supercargos were then able to exercise a better

control on the porcelain that came from the factories during the course of the spring.

It was customary for half the price, which was agreed on in advance, to be paid when the order was placed and the remainder on delivery. In having unusual forms made after samples, in particular, the merchant ran the risk that the porcelain ordered would not be to the liking of the supercargos, that it would be rejected and have to be made again. However, the supercargos did not adopt too rigorous an approach here, since it would otherwise have taken too long before the *Heeren XVII* saw the results of their 'Requirements'. In 1756, however, the situation was no joke, for the services supplied to order by the Hong merchant Tsja Honqua had only flat dinner plates instead of deep dishes and were indignantly rejected, 'the merchant's underling who had been in charge of this in the uplands letting it be known with great calmness that he had not paid very close heed to the difference between deep dishes and flat dinner plates'.

For their part the supercargos had to wait and see whether the porcelain they had ordered really would arrive at the appointed time. Floods, famine, epidemics among the workers in the factories like that of 1744 or bad weather, which prevented the modelled porcelain from drying properly in the open air, were circumstances which could delay transport for months or even make delivery completely impossible.

During the period 1736–57 the merchant Tan Soequa, with his son Chetqua, was one of the most important suppliers of porcelain.<sup>72</sup> The Pronk porcelain had already been ordered from him and up to around 1750 most of the orders went to him and a large part of the buying-in from stock was done from him. In 1754, however, he was ousted by Tsja Honqua, who with his partners Semqua and Teijqua had acquired a preferential position *vis-à-vis* the Dutch in just a few years. In 1755 the supercargos made a final break with their former custom of buying in

porcelain from a variety of dealers and up to 1757 this triumvirate was favoured with the orders as well as the buying-in.

Purchasing in the porcelain shops was done from examples of both forms and decorations which were shown to the supercargos there. If a given kind was not in stock or not in sufficient quantity, then it had to be ordered. The decorations required could be applied in the workplaces in Canton in a relatively short time (see p. 126). There exist representations of European supercargos visiting porcelain shops. The motif is found on Chinese gouaches which were made for export as souvenirs and which were produced in series depicting all sorts of aspects of trade and daily life.<sup>73</sup> It also occurs on porcelain objects.<sup>74</sup> (Fig. 53–54).

The resumption of the direct trade with China from the Netherlands in 1757 put an end to the monopoly of Tsja Honqua and his partners, the supercargos again buying porcelain from various merchants, primarily from Tan Soequa and his sons Tan Chetqua and Tinqua.<sup>75</sup> Other important suppliers were Swetsia, Pinqua and Lisjoncon, who were to take a leading place in the following decades.

An interesting document of 1757 is the contract that the supercargos concluded with Lisjoncon for the ordering of porcelain. A number of similar agreements relating to tea and silk have survived, but this is the only example regarding porcelain.<sup>76</sup> It gives a good idea of the way in which the business relations between the Dutch and the Chinese merchants were regulated. The supplier committed himself 'in the strongest way with person and goods as by rights' and signed the text drawn up in Dutch with his seal 'without guile or artifice'. 'By rights' meant the Chinese contract rights which both parties had to adhere to, for the Chinese criminal law also applied to the Europeans in Canton. The contract contains no sanctions for the incomplete or non-fulfilment of the agreement. According to the contract the



47 Examples of coffee, tea and caudle cups and saucers. Pencil drawing, 26.5 × 14 cm, 1758. National Archives, Archives of Canton Factory 121.

supercargos ordered 1,000 three-piece nests of dishes and 15,000 coffee cups and saucers with various decorations such as 'with 2 flowering stumps sprouting from a rock and a bird sitting on them and a border outside and inside the cup and a flower on the base of the same', a well-known pattern. In addition coffee cups were asked for 'with openwork and scalloped with various fine flowers on the scallops and a fine border outside the cup and inside a flower in the bottom', while the dishes were to be painted on the inside 'with a landscape with a tree and flowering shrubs and a Chinese fence'. Wooden samples were given to serve as moulds for making the forms. The total price was fixed at 3,249 guilders, of which 2,130 guilders were paid in advance, half in cash, half in spices, the re-

mainder to be paid on delivery. Disagreements regarding the price, quality or delivery of porcelain were resolved by the supercargos and suppliers among themselves and the Chinese authorities were only called upon for assistance when it was a case of establishing the rights in bankruptcies.

When the Co Hong was instituted in 1760, the position of the independent porcelain dealers changed. In accordance with the Chinese authorities' efforts to concentrate all the trade in the hands of a small group of merchants, the 'boutiquiers' were forbidden to sell to the Companies in their own names from then on. They were obliged to accept a Hong merchant as patron and to supply in his name and from his warehouses, the Hong merchant standing guarantor for the shopkeeper who sold under his name, both for the meeting of agreements and for debts owed to the customs or the Europeans. For this the shopkeeper paid him a 3% commission plus the export dues, which were now likewise under the Hong merchant's name. The supplying of porcelain to private individuals constituted an exception to this rule, being exempted from it by Imperial Decree.

The Co Hong were afraid that this might make it possible for their monopoly to be evaded, for example by large-scale selling to the supercargos as private individuals or to members of the ships' crews and they thus wanted to keep a check on such transactions. They therefore obliged the most important shopkeepers, nearly all of whom traded in the name of a Hong merchant, to rent new shops 'in the street which was newly built on the waterfront to that end and a watch would be posted on each side in order to obstruct the passage to the (walled) city and keep the seafarers in order'.<sup>77</sup> In this way it could be discovered how much was being sold. These shops were the property of the Hong merchants and in addition to the high rents 'their Lordships the Hong Merchants will cer-

tainly have imposed further dues unknown to us on this trade in order to ensure that those poor fellows do not gain much from their modest profits', wrote the supercargos.<sup>78</sup>

Nevertheless, the new ruling evidently still left enough room for the 'boutiquiers'. Admittedly the prices of the most exclusive kinds rose a little, on account of the costs that had to be passed on, but there was no question of any slackening in the porcelain trade and the commonest kinds even showed little or no price rise (see Table 1). In the trade report of 1764 a good fifty shops are mentioned, which mainly sold the porcelain of higher quality which the Dutch East India Company needed in larger amounts at that time.<sup>79</sup> The names of about half the dealers are known from the records and it is a striking fact that a great many new names appear among them after 1760.<sup>80</sup>

In the first six years of the direct trade the buying-in was made more difficult by the fact that the Chinese authorities would no longer allow the supercargos to remain behind in the off-season. Thus it was impossible to maintain the quick-flowing organization that had been built up by the Batavian supercargos and as in the past it was necessary to make the rounds of the shops at top speed immediately on arrival in order to have the bottom layers for the ships in readiness as soon as possible. Speed was also imperative because the supercargos wanted to finish their buying-in before the Swedes and the Danes arrived, since they had the knack of snapping up the best pieces right under the noses of the Dutch. Moreover, the shopkeepers put up their prices by at least 25% as soon as they heard that ships of the Scandinavian Companies were in the offing, firstly because the Swedes in particular paid better for good quality porcelain and secondly because the demand went up.<sup>81</sup>

Not until 1763 did it become possible for the supercargos to remain behind again. Part of the buying-in could then be shifted to the period after the departure of the ships with all the

advantages that this entailed. Sufficient chests could be made ready for the next season, the assortment could be built up more carefully and items still missing from the 'Requirements' could be bought in peace. Moreover, the prices were lower in the off-season: there was no competition from the Danes and Swedes and the shopkeepers gave bigger discounts in order to get rid of old stocks and acquire ready money for buying new consignments 'in the uplands'.<sup>82</sup>

Despite these improvements porcelain, as a less important commodity, nevertheless took up a disproportionate amount of the supercargos' time and energy. The constantly changing 'Requirements' from the Netherlands, the sometimes rather futile criticisms of the *Heeren XVII* about the assortments sent and the lack of understanding that these revealed of the problems confronting them every day did nothing to make the task of the supercargos simpler. Evidently the criticism of the consignment of 1761, over which they had precisely done their best, was the last straw that broke the camel's back. In the General Report of 1764 the director, M. W. Hulle, reacted uncommonly sharply to the accusation of the *Heeren XVII* that the Swedes had received certain very profitable dinner services from China, whereas they had not been sent a single one of this kind. In a tone that contrasts somewhat with that of the other reports and with their fulsome politeness, a justification was given for the buying-in and a general picture of the procedure in the porcelain trade, which affords an excellent insight into what the supercargos themselves thought of this branch of the trade.<sup>83</sup>

Now that the supercargos remained in Canton for a number of years in succession, it seemed obvious that they should specialize. Thus the difficult task of conducting the buying-in of porcelain to the satisfaction of their 'Lords and Masters' was each year entrusted as far as possible to the same super-

cargo, who could call on the aid of one or two assistants.<sup>84</sup>

The services constituted a perpetual problem in buying-in, for they were not kept in stock by the dealers, since their composition and form changed practically every year. Pieces such as tureens, dishes, fruit and salad bowls, sauceboats, etc. had to be made separately and the supercargos repeatedly complained about all these new models which cost additional work and a great deal of money. Moreover, there was every likelihood of the finished porcelain not turning out as had been expected in the Netherlands. The tureens in particular were often too heavy, too coarse or unsatisfactory in shape and criticism was showered on the supercargos.

In these years too there were all sorts of external factors that affected deliveries and the price of the porcelain ordered. In 1764 the boats in which the porcelain was being transported to Canton were confiscated en route and it took months before they could be sent on their way again. In 1765 a junk belonging to the merchant Suchin foundered on a rock in the river on the way from Nanking to Canton and everything had to be ordered anew at his expense. In 1777 the merchants complained about the extortion of the mandarins and put up their prices by 10 to 15%. In 1784 there were floods and from 1786 to 1788 drought and famine. The prices of rice rose and with them wages, which meant an increase of 8 to 10% on the purchase price of porcelain.<sup>85</sup>

Technical problems could crop up too: in 1773 services with a scalloped rim cracked during firing and delivery was delayed for a year. Only once is there any mention of a commission being refused. That also happened in 1773, when not one of the shopkeepers dared to have services decorated with bouquets of flowers in enamel colours on a yellow ground. They were afraid that the colours would be disappointing because there would have to be two firings, one

for the yellow ground and a second for the bouquets. In the case of cheap cups a mishap in firing was not so bad, but no-one dared take the risk with expensive, specially made services.<sup>86</sup>

The porcelain dealer always ran the risk of the supercargos rejecting certain pieces because they did not tally with the sample provided. The Dutch had a name for being critical and in 1769 the dealers complained about the large amounts of porcelain rejected.<sup>87</sup> These rejects did not fit into any other assortment and it was scarcely possible to sell them to other Europeans. If the dealer did not want to be left with them on his hands, he was obliged to offer them for a nominal price. Whether the supercargos deliberately rejected a lot of porcelain in order to be able to buy consignments cheaply later as private individuals, or whether they booked this ware for the Company at the official price and pocketed the difference themselves, can no longer be discovered.

It is stated in various reports that the dealer usually made only 15% net profit on the specially made porcelain,<sup>88</sup> certainly an absolutely minimal profit margin in view of all the risks involved. Porcelain was evidently not a commodity on which great fortunes could be made, for even such a great purveyor as Suchin was reported by the supercargos to be short of money and credit, 'and who would dare make a loan of any magnitude to fellows of that sort, for if any disaster overtakes them or they die, one has generally lost it'.<sup>89</sup>

The quality of the porcelain evidently left something to be desired, even at these 'boutiques', and so in 1767 as in 1755 the supercargos decided to place their orders exclusively with their Hong merchants Tsja Honqua and Inksja, for whom porcelain was a sideline that they could use to strengthen their relations with the Dutch. They obviously did their best and perhaps even lost a little on this article, for two years later the directors expressed their approval of the 'new merchants' who had supplied better porcelain.

This situation only lasted a short while, however, for in 1770 Tsja Honqua died and in 1771 the Co Hong was disbanded and the exclusive triumvirate with whom the Dutch were accustomed to handle fell apart. In 1772, as of old, orders were again placed with Lisjoncon, Suchin and Conjac, who with Pinqua were now reckoned among the most prominent porcelain dealers.

The archives sometimes yield interesting information about the porcelain dealers. For example, 1766 saw the death of old Soequa, who had supplied the Dutch since as long ago as the beginning of the first period of direct trade. He was succeeded by his son Tan Chetqua, who by order of the heirs held a sale of his stock, which included porcelain that had lain in the shop for forty years. 'Not because it was rejected, but because the deceased was never willing to sell it except at great profit', wrote the supercargos, and they thought they would be doing a good stroke of business by buying this outmoded ware because they considered it 'better and finer in character than that which is made by the shop now'.<sup>90</sup> But the *Heeren XVII* were of quite a different opinion, answering crossly that they set no store by 'old assortments which some one received half a century ago and which probably already remained in the hands of the Chinese then because of their badness'.<sup>91</sup>

Chetqua is still mentioned as a supplier in 1768, but after his death his brother Tinqu, who carried on the business, supplied no more porcelain to the Dutch. Among the smaller suppliers may be mentioned Exhin, from whom the Swedes always bought their porcelain. The Dutch, however, did not consider him to be sound enough financially, so they placed no orders with him. Another dealer was Yeckhing, who was responsible for more and more deliveries after 1775.

1779 was a disastrous year for the porcelain dealers. The Hong merchant Kooqua, brother

of Tinqu and Chetqua and son of old Soequa, had gone bankrupt in 1778 and the keepers of the porcelain shops had to contribute to the clearing of his debts.<sup>92</sup> In addition, the Hoppo decreed that the taxes on porcelain must be increased by 50% and by another 50% the following year. This was aimed at making the Hong merchants 'meet the payment for the fine things for the Emperor'. The shopkeepers were oppressed by all these vexations, which prevented them from working much on speculation'.<sup>93</sup> Lisjoncon was unable to keep his head above water and despite the fact that he sold porcelain far below the normal price in order to bring in some money, this dealer, who had once been so prominent, also went bankrupt in the same year.

Even after the dissolution of the Co Hong the porcelain dealers continued to supply the European Companies in the name of a Hong merchant. In 1783 the Hong merchants abused this by declaring that the taxes must be doubled, hoping to lighten their own burdens thereby. The European supercargos registered a joint protest with the Hoppo, who appeared to be quite ignorant of this increase. He was outraged by this infringement of his authority and rescinded the measure again, but he was obviously concerned nonetheless about his lack of control over this branch of the trade. In order to reduce the influence of the Hong merchants he urged the keepers of the porcelain shops to set up an organization of their own and appoint a head over it. This organization would then act as a corporation for the members, obtaining licences and paying taxes. But the shopkeepers resolutely refused. They evidently found the extortions of the Hong merchants a lesser evil than direct control of their businesses by the authorities. As a punitive measure or as a means of exerting pressure the Hoppo compelled a number of the porcelain suppliers, including Conjac, to take part in the salt trade. This was organised as a monopoly and was notorious for



the high taxes the participants had to raise. Thus Conjac immediately had himself declared bankrupt, in order to escape this ‘honour’<sup>94</sup>. Because of all this the porcelain on order, which Conjac was to have received in 1784, was never delivered.

After 1785 the vacant places had been taken by other dealers. The orders were dealt with up to the end of the China trade by three or sometimes four dealers each year. First and foremost by the dependable Suchin Chinqua, who had been one of the Company’s most important suppliers from the early 1760’s onwards without a break, who had survived all the crises and who knew the taste of the Dutch through and through. After him came Yeckhing, who had worked himself up in less than ten years from a small supplier to one of the biggest porcelain dealers. The supercargos described him as a most trustworthy man, who had never committed the slightest fraud.<sup>95</sup>

The third dealer with whom orders were placed was Soychong. After 1788 Synchron also shared in the orders, a dealer who was regarded by the Americans around 1820 as one of the best porcelain merchants.<sup>96</sup> The bulk of the porcelain that was acquired from stock was also bought from these dealers. Now that the directors no longer considered the porcelain trade worthy of much attention, the supercargos left the choice of the patterns on the ordinary ware to the dealers who thus partly determined this aspect of the assortment.

Of the other shopkeepers Exhin still remained, who made ‘a considerable quantity of deliveries’ not only to the Swedes, but also to the English. Pinqua, who had once been a big supplier, now dealt only in small consignments.

That the porcelain trade could, nonetheless, still be so profitable that the Hoppo thought the dealers worthy of special attention is clear from a note of 1793 ‘... he (the Hoppo) has again cast his eye on half a dozen of the wealthiest Porcelain dealers and “Boutiquiers”, in order

to make the same into Hong merchants, with the aim of emptying their purses’.<sup>97</sup>

An important aspect of the buying-in was, of course, the price that had to be paid for the porcelain and, as has already been demonstrated above, this could be influenced by all sorts of factors. Detailed information is available about these purchase prices. From the very beginning the supercargos kept careful note in the day-books, invoices and settlements of the prices they paid for each kind and each variety. In 1764 they let it be known with some pride that their buying-in was the cheapest among all the Europeans, but the directors had quite a few comments to make on the quality of the porcelain sent over then. This was a constantly recurring problem. Good quality and fashionable patterns had to be paid for and the supercargos and the China Committee held rather divergent opinions as to what the priorities ought to be in buying-in.

The buying-in was directly dependent on the profits that were made. The directors certainly mentioned in the ‘Requirements’ which kinds were to be ‘excused’ because of poor proceeds on their sale and they also reported how much profit a cargo of porcelain had made in all, but the supercargos were not given any information about the size of the profit or the extent of the loss on the various kinds. Thus they did not know what was the maximum amount they could pay for, say, a blue-and-white tea service so that a profit would still be ensured at the sales in the Netherlands. Not until 1761 did the Zeeland Chamber recognize this problem and send detailed lists of the returns on the porcelain sold in that year. The Amsterdam Chamber followed suit in 1763<sup>98</sup>. These lists mention only the profitable kinds, giving the purchase price, the proceeds on the sale, the gross profit and the percentage profit (for more detailed specification of the profits on the various kinds see Chapter IV).

The supercargos pointed out to the China Committee, however, that what was important was not the percentage profit but the actual profit on each kind. An example may serve to clarify this. In 1763 blue-and-white dinner plates cost 10 cent apiece and brought in 38 cents at the sale, a gross profit of 280%. A plate in enamel colours, on the other hand, which cost 19 cents, brought in 53 on sale, a profit of 179%. But if this is expressed in figures, a blue-and-white plate earned only 28 cents, whereas one in enamel colours earned 34 cents, despite the lower percentage profit margin. Similarly a gross profit of 547% on blue-and-white tea pots in the form of an apple seems exceptionally high, but because of the low purchase price the actual profit was only fl. 1.15, which was less than the profit on tea pots with enamel colours that year, the percentage profit on which averaged 275% or fl. 1.35.

The supercargos thus advocated that buying porcelain of good quality, even if it was expensive, for a small percentage profit on a high purchase price would still often bring in more than a large percentage on a low price<sup>99</sup> (for the relationship between percentage profit and quantity see p. 129). Since it was obviously too complicated to do the buying-in on the basis of the lists of returns, the China Committee confined itself after 1765 to setting limits on the purchase prices of various kinds and varieties.

What, then, was the normal, average price that the supercargos paid for the various kinds of porcelain? Although they recorded all the purchase prices in detail each year, we have already seen how many factors could influence these. Thus this information must be used with the necessary caution, if one wants to determine the course of the prices for a number of kinds. On the basis of the latter an indication can then be given of the more general development of prices for export porcelain. Nothing has ever been published before on this kind of subject,

so that it is not possible to make a comparison with similar material from other Companies.

As a basis for the study of the prices a choice was made from among the numerous kinds and varieties of porcelain that the supercargos bought in of six examples that were not exceptionally strongly subject to changes in fashion in the 18th century and that constituted year in year out a very saleable part of the Dutch East India Company's trade assortment. Since the decoration also made a difference to the price, a distinction was also made in each kind between blue-and-white and enamel colours, the basic types of painting applied throughout the whole period.

In order to eliminate short-term influences as far as possible, while at the same time not losing sight of genuine price developments, the data for about ten successive years were put together each time for each kind and a calculation made of the average price for that period. The years 1734 and 1757, when the organization of the China trade was altered, and the year 1783, when the trade got going again after the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War, were taken as markers. A summary over a shorter period, five years for example, proved to reveal scarcely any differences. The prices in the daybooks and settlements, posted in Chinese taels, were converted into guilders, according to the current rate of exchange.<sup>100</sup>

The results of this price survey are given in Table 1 from which a number of facts clearly emerge. It appears that during the first period of direct trade the supercargos paid more for numerous kinds than the Batavian supercargos did in the period thereafter, certainly if one takes the difference in the exchange rate into account. During the period when the China trade was conducted by Batavia the prices were stable. After 1757 those of most varieties dropped, as a result of the upward revaluation of the guilder in respect of the tael.

There is no sign of any price rise as a result of

the establishment of the Co Hong. The very steep drop in the price of the slop bowls in enamel colours is exceptional, however, and a spot check shows that such a drop does not occur in other kinds not included in the survey either. The reason for it is unclear.

Not until around 1770 was there any significant rise in the level of prices. One of the reasons for this is probably to be found in the sharp increase in the number of English ships that came to trade in Canton during those years and the greater demand for porcelain consequent on this. The rise of the cost of living in China and Canton could have had an influence as well.<sup>101</sup> In this connection it is interesting to note that the supercargos wrote in 1779 that the price of foodstuffs had gone up by over 50% in Canton since 1762. They blamed this on the increasing extortion of the mandarins and also

on 'the increasing wealth of the country and the way of living of the communality that has arisen from this, which they have to find the means for in the work of their hands and the sale of the country's products'.<sup>102</sup> The inflation that this gave rise to will not have left porcelain prices undisturbed. Towards 1780 a new equilibrium seems to have been reached, for in the years after that the prices scarcely change any more.

Looked at in a wider context, it can be said on the basis of these figures that the Chinese market for export porcelain gives the impression of maintaining a very even balance. Thanks to the competition between the numerous dealers, there was no question of the forming of a monopoly or of any forcing up of the prices. For the basic types of porcelain that contributed a permanent and quantitatively important part of all European purchases the prices remained re-

*Table 1 Survey of the average purchase prices for some kinds of porcelain in Holland guilders*

Kind	1729-34 cents	1735-45 cents	1746-56 cents	1757-65 cents	1766-74 cents	1775-83 cents	1784-94 cents
<i>Tea cup and saucer</i>							
blue-and white	8	8	9	7	6	8	7
enamel colours	13	12	13	11	11	11	11
<i>Chocolate cup and saucer</i>							
blue-and-white	13	14	15	13	19	18	18
enamel colours	22	20	22	17	25	22	22
<i>Cuspidor</i>							
blue-and-white	—	28	31	33	31	32	36
<i>Slop bowl</i>							
blue-and-white	22	12	11	9	10	17	16
enamel colours	54	44	53	12	14	25	22
<i>Milk jug</i>							
blue-and-white	23	18	20	19	31	50	47
enamel colours	31	20	22	25	36	58	61
<i>Dinner plate</i>							
blue-and-white	11	10	11	11	17	18	18
enamel colours	29	20	23	16	23	28	28

latively stable. Less readily saleable models or decorations show much greater price fluctuations, which were partly determined by the amount the supercargos could spend on them. In their negotiations with the suppliers, however, the price of the ordinary porcelain remained the starting-point.

### *c The manufacture, transport and painting of the porcelain*

On the basis of references in the Chinese sources, accounts of travels and the famous letters of the Jesuit Father d'Entrecolles it is generally accepted that the vast bulk of the export porcelain handled in Canton was made at Ch'ing-tê-Chên in the province of Kiangsi.<sup>103</sup> In addition, export porcelain was also supplied by Tê-Hua in Fukiên, notably the type known as *Blanc de Chine*.<sup>104</sup> Soame Jenyns further points out that there were also many smaller centres of production, several of which were even in the neighbourhood of Canton, but he does not consider them to have played a role of any significance in the manufacture for the export market.<sup>105</sup>

Ch'ing-tê Chên is not mentioned by name in the reports of the supercargos, but that is the case in the too often overlooked description which A. E. van Braam Houckgeest gave of the journey made by the Dutch East India Company's embassy in 1794–5. On the way to Peking he wrote about porcelain: 'Cet article connu se fabrique uniquement dans la partie du Nord-Est de cette province (Kiangsi), dans un lieu qu'on nomme Kin-tac-Shen'. He also describes the provincial capital Nan-Chang Fou on Lake Poyang as the emporium and transshipment centre for the products of Ch'ing-tê Chên, where an enormous variety of porcelain was on offer in numerous small shops.<sup>106</sup>

Transport from Ch'ing-tê Chên went either northwards to Nanking and thence to Peking

and elsewhere, or southwards via Nan-Chang to Canton. The rivers were used for it, but sometimes they dried up and the transport had to be effected overland with the risk of more breakages than otherwise.<sup>107</sup> All the porcelain had to be manhandled over the Nanling mountains, which ran from east to west, via the Meiling Pass and Van Braam gives an amusing description of the numerous coolies by whom this was done, trotting along laden with 'fayence'.<sup>108</sup>

Information is also available from non-literary sources about the process of manufacture, the transport and the sale of porcelain, for example from Chinese gouaches in which these activities are depicted.<sup>109</sup> A selection from a series of such gouaches – unfortunately incomplete – in the Prinsessehof at Leeuwarden is illustrated here (Figs. 55–60).<sup>110</sup> It is much rarer to find this subject on the porcelain itself. Thus the large goldfish bowl in the Gemeente Museum in The Hague, on which the manufacture of porcelain is shown in four panels, is a highly exceptional piece (Figs. 61–62). It is interesting to note, that a pattern known as 'the manufacture of porcelain' was also in vogue on Chinese silks around 1770–5.<sup>111</sup>

The supercargos mostly wrote that the merchants or their servants journeyed to 'the uplands' to place their orders or buy in new stocks of porcelain. In addition to this somewhat vague indication, repeated mention is also made of 'Nanking' as the centre where the porcelain that was handled in Canton was produced. Now Nanking was indeed an important trading centre and a transshipment place and emporium for the porcelain from Ch'ing-tê Chên, but it is unlikely that there was any large-scale production for export there.<sup>112</sup> In the reports of the supercargos, however, there are clear references to the 'factories at Nanking', where porcelain was made, and it would thus seem much more likely that for Nanking one should read Ch'ing-tê Chên.



48 Saucer, decorated with 'the cherry-picker' in enamel colours. Porcelain, diam. 12.3 cm, Chinese, c. 1770–80. Groningen Museum, Groningen.



49 Coffee cup with handle, decorated with 'The Crucifixion' in *encre de Chine*. Porcelain, h. 6.4 cm, diam. of rim 5.8 cm, Chinese, c. 1770–80. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

Such an identification finds support as follows. The Chinese dealers from Canton bought raw silk, gold and nankeen, among other things, in Nanking and there existed a very intensive traffic between the two cities via the route mentioned above.<sup>113</sup> It has already been pointed out (see pp. 114, 117) that the orders for porcelain were mostly placed with bigger dealers, because of the risks involved. These Hong merchants went to Nanking in the off-season to buy in new stocks of silks, etc., taking the samples and drawings of the porcelain to be made with them. Ch'ing-tê Chên was not so far away from Nanking and they broke their journey there in order to hand in the orders. The Europeans, who were already but poorly acquainted with the geography of China, simply understood Nanking to be the goal of the journey, while the Hong merchants probably used the name Nanking for both the city and the region, thus including Ch'ing-tê Chên under it as well. The English term 'Nankeen ware' or 'Nankin china', which was used for blue-and-white porcelain towards the end of the 18th century, could also be explained in this way.<sup>114</sup>

If this hypothesis is accepted, the reports of the supercargos regarding 'Nanking' confirm the prevailing conception of Ch'ing-tê Chên as the most important centre of production for export porcelain. Some of the reports further contain information that can contribute to a more detailed picture.

It is not surprising that the first mention of 'Nanking' should occur in 1749, when the supercargos wrote that they were having part of the porcelain to be sent to the Netherlands the next year 'made ready at Nanking'.<sup>115</sup> After the failure of the experiment with the Pronk porcelain no more porcelain had been made to order, but it was precisely in that year that this began again (see p. 102). Thus before that time there was no reason to give any details about the place where porcelain on order was being made, but from then on one reads very regularly that the orders were being seen to at 'Nanking'.<sup>116</sup>

A notable report, in which, by way of exception, the name Nanking will have meant the city, dates from 1750. At that time the dealers in Canton did not want to accept any orders for porcelain, 'for the reason that the Emperor is

scheduled to make a journey this year from Peking to Nanking and to that end, according to the estimate, porcelain to the value of more than 30,000 taels has to be made'. The 'painters', by whom will have been meant the porcelain decorators from Ch'ing-tê Chên, had been commissioned to embellish the various triumphal arches and only when all that had been accomplished would they be able to make a start on the orders from Canton. Since delivery on time could not, therefore, be guaranteed, the dealers did not want to run the risk of being left with consignments on their hands.<sup>117</sup>

The most informative reports date from the period 1775–85. In 1775 the supercargos wrote about the division of labour among the factories, the far-reaching specialization and the vulnerability of the small firms that were set up as family businesses. 'There is a separate factory for each kind and that which makes the cups and saucers produces no other pieces... the dinner services being put together in the same way, one making the tureens, another the dishes, a third the platters and so on, each kind by itself.<sup>118</sup>

Three years later it was reported, 'that the shopkeepers Conjac and Suchin, who have long supplied our porcelains, have let it be known that they can no longer ensure delivery of round dishes or fish platters with the dinner services, since of three factories which made these pieces before – the tureens being made here, the dishes there and so forth – there was only one left, which for some time has been directed by an old man, whose son has made himself scarce because of bad behaviour, thus he also, having no one to undertake the necessary supervision, had advised them and also all the other porcelain buyers that he had closed his factory and since these people are afraid that they will be unable to find another factory for those pieces so quickly or to set one up among themselves, they were obliged to warn us on account of this'.<sup>119</sup> A report of a few years later links up with this:

'... these factories, which are more and more dying out, so that of over a hundred more than eighty have gone bankrupt or died out within ten to twelve years, (constitute) the real reason why so little coarse ware is coming on to the market'.<sup>120</sup> The scarcity of coarse ware is confirmed by a report of some years before then, in which the supercargos wrote: 'The taxes are the reason why there has been so little coarse ware and other slop and half-pint bowls for sale; the shopkeepers are gradually giving up having the coarse porcelains made, while the buying-in of them in the uplands has gone up considerably because of lack of workpeople, sufficient wood and clay; the Hoppo dues are the same as for the fine ware, everything being weighed, and the European drawings and taste are too much subject to change'.<sup>121</sup>

This coarse porcelain, which the supercargos called 'stoneware', was much in demand, because it could stand up to hard wear. It was used as a sort of hotel porcelain in the form of plates, dishes, bowls and tea and coffee cups and saucers. It was more expensive than ordinary porcelain, however, because the export dues were levied according to weight. In addition to this there was another variety which the supercargos called 'semi-stoneware' and which was evidently different from the porcelain 'of fine clay'. The supercargos wrote about the differences in manufacture between these coarse and fine porcelains: 'The coarse couple ware and especially that which is brown on the outside is always made rather smaller than the fine, which has separate factories; each of these factories has its forms which, kind by kind, show a regular diminution (in size). Thus one cannot compare a single fine dish with a coarse one and say that it is substandard, but one can put the one inside the other kind by kind (in packing them)... One also finds various sizes at the shopkeepers' in proportion to the factories that make them having their own methods'.<sup>122</sup>

Sometimes the limits of the technical powers

of the Chinese potters are indicated too. Mention has already been made of the dinner services that cracked during firing (p. 117). The maximum diameter for punch bowls was 20 *duim* and oval 'strainer plates' for fish dishes also presented quite a few difficulties.

Not only in the 1770's, but also after then were the factories plagued by numerous problems which led to their decline. The dealers in Canton described, for example, the drought in 1786 and the high rice prices as an important reason why 'the worker has scarcely been able to earn that which is required for his food and disheartened by this very many have abandoned the work at Nanking'.<sup>123</sup>

All this had its repercussions on production and in that same year the merchant Yeckhing received the news from Nanking that the consignment of porcelain on order had been got ready, but that the fish dishes could not be supplied because 'very few people were present who made such difficult pieces...'.<sup>124</sup> The supercargos then wrote to Batavia: 'Regarding the request for the porcelains may it please Your Honours to cut out the round dishes in future because they can no longer be made at Nanking and brought from there'.<sup>125</sup>

These few scattered facts might indicate that the decline registered in Canton was to be blamed not only on incidental causes such as drought, but also on problems of a structural nature. The number of factories steadily decreased, some kinds were no longer made, specialists had no successors. It is, however, still unknown to what extent a change or reduction in the Western demand was one of the reasons here, for that demand must certainly have had an influence on the production at Ch'ing-tê Chên. On the basis of the Dutch figures a rough total of 150,000 pieces can be given as a (low) estimate of the cargo of a single ship.<sup>126</sup> With twenty or thirty ships in the roadstead the number of pieces produced annually for Europe thus runs into millions. Towards the end of the

1760's English earthenware began to offer serious competition to Chinese porcelain, the taste of the public changed and a reduction in the demand will certainly have had an effect in Ch'ing-tê Chên. However, the Dutch East India Company did not curtail its assortment until 1787 (see p. 111). Unfortunately there is not much to be found in the literature as to how the other Companies reacted, but it can be taken that they too will have adapted their buying-in. As early as 1763 the supercargos wrote, 'that the orders of the English Company regarding the sending of porcelains are the fewer the better, thus the Company's chests are no higher than 12 *duim* and they only consider it necessary for a trim between the stone ballast and the tea chests, at least the supercargos pay little attention to this commodity'.<sup>127</sup>

As far as the decoration was concerned, the Dutch posed some special problems for the porcelain dealers since they, much more than the other Europeans, had a preference, especially in the first half of the 18th century, for porcelain decorated in 'blue-and-white after the old-fashioned manner.' All the kinds that were not in stock in blue-and-white had to be ordered.<sup>128</sup> The same applied to the much sought-after Chinese Imari (*'Chinees Japans'*), a decoration in blue and iron red, and the pieces that were brown on the outside. These colours were applied during the process of manufacture to the unfired object, which was then given a coating of glaze and fired. This underglaze technique could only be applied at Ch'ing-tê Chên, because the high temperature needed could be reached in the kilns there.

In addition the so-called enamel colours were also used there: gold, yellow, green, pink, black, purple, etc. These pigments were applied to the object when it had already been fired, and often glazed as well, and they were then fired again at a lower temperature (muffled).<sup>129</sup> As long as the amounts of porcelain exported remained relatively small, all of it was made and

painted at Ch'ing-tê Chên. This situation changed, however, when the porcelain dealers increasingly came to have the overglaze decorations applied in Canton itself, under the stimulus of a rapidly growing market for porcelain and a greater demand for fashionable and unusual decorations of good quality. A large number of workplaces specializing in enamel painting came into being, some connected with shops, others not.<sup>130</sup> The great advantage of having the work done locally was that there was more control over the decoration and further explanation could be given by the orderer, if necessary, while orders could also be met much more quickly. Deliveries depended on the extent and complexity of the order, but they never took longer than a week or two, while orders placed in 'Nanking', by contrast, often involved a wait of months and could thus only be despatched on the return ships the following year.

No satisfactory answer has yet been given to the question of precisely when this change took place, but it is possible to offer a suggestion on the basis of the records. It is an established fact that all the Pronk porcelain ordered between 1736 and 1740 was both made and painted at Ch'ing-tê Chên. In all the documents reference is made to orders placed in the 'uplands' and the time that elapsed between ordering and delivery also provides proof of this. Had there existed a possibility of having this porcelain painted more cheaply in Canton, the supercargos would undoubtedly have made use of it, certainly in this case. In the years after the experiment with the Pronk porcelain the 'Requirements' are extremely summary and nothing but the ordinary utilitarian ware was bought in, mostly decorated in blue-and-white and Chinese Imari. After 1745 the porcelain trade revived a little again, models and drawings were sent and the 'Requirements' became more extensive. This could be linked with the availability of a more varied selection in

Canton. It is also a fact that the painting in *encre in Chine*, an overglaze technique pre-eminently suited to *Chine de commande*, developed precisely at this period. Finally, it is also striking that 'completely white', *i.e.* completely undecorated pieces of porcelain were suddenly bought in in larger quantities at the beginning of the 1750's (see Appendix 11). The supercargos explicitly write about the function of these pieces: 'completely white in order to be painted here (Canton) in accordance with our own choice'.<sup>131</sup> This white ware must have been readily available at that time from the dealers, who kept it in stock in order to have it painted according to the purchaser's instructions. Thus the takeover by the workplaces in Canton of part of the decoration process of Ch'ing-tê Chên will have occurred roundabout the period 1745–50. Porcelain that had to have enamel decoration in combination with a decoration or background in underglaze colours will also have been painted in Canton to an increasing extent.<sup>132</sup>

Initially it did not make much difference to the price whether the decoration required was applied in Canton or in Ch'ing-tê Chên, but in 1779 it was said that the punchbowls with 'Nanking painting' were cheaper. Thus the porcelain painters in Canton were evidently profiting from their position now that the dealers would no longer take the risk of having special orders carried out far away in the 'interior', when they could be done better and more quickly locally. This also explains why in the 1750's the Dutch found it ever more difficult to buy the various kinds of porcelain in the favourite 'old-fashioned' blue-and-white form, since these were now increasingly only to be had in the version in enamel colours. This meant that blue-and-white and Chinese Imari became something out of the ordinary that had to be ordered and thus cost more money, for which reason the Company resigned itself in the 1760's to following the dominant trend.





50 *Pattipan*, decorated with 'Neptune' in underglaze blue. Porcelain, 12.7 × 8 cm, Chinese, c. 1770–80. Prinsesshof Museum, Leeuwarden.

A Chinese gouache of the early 19th century depicting a workplace shows how the white undecorated porcelain was brought in in order to be painted (Fig. 63). The supercargos had to indicate on buying-in and ordering what decorations they wanted and in this they went either on closely defined orders from the Netherlands or on their own initiative. If drawings had been sent, they were given to the dealers and the latter then took care to see that they got to the porcelain painters.<sup>133</sup> (Fig. 64). If the requirements were not so specific, the supercargo could choose from among the samples shown to him by the shopkeeper. These were probably not drawings, but pieces of porcelain bearing patterns that were in vogue at that moment. A few late 18th-century examples

of such samples have survived, plates with borders of four or more patterns.<sup>134</sup> (Figs. 65–66).

Very little indeed is known, alas, about the porcelain painters in Canton. It is taken that they also did enamelwork on copper objects since this requires a similar technique.<sup>135</sup> Only one name has been handed down by the supercargos, that of Quinquá 'the porcelain painter', who must have been active around 1770.<sup>136</sup> He, then, may represent the numerous anonymous craftsmen, who wielded their brushes with a sometimes astounding skill and tried to please the capricious Western public.

The cheapest decorations were those that were applied 'cold', *i.e.* whereby the pieces only had to be painted with enamel colours and not muffled in the kiln. Such decoration rapidly



51 Punch bowl, decorated in enamel colours with 'the factories at Canton'. Porcelain, diam. 40 cm, Chinese, c. 1775–80. Maritieme Museum, Amsterdam.

wore off in use, so the supercargos had few such pieces made.<sup>137</sup>

Porcelain that was muffled was more expensive, while special decorations such as those that appear on *Chine-de-Commande*, for example, were the dearest of all. In 1779 the supercargos wrote on this subject: 'Meanwhile we discover that all that is European painting or figures costs twice as much as Chinese, provided it is not too heavily laden with gold, which is now extra dear... The difference in drawing is so great that an enamelled punch bowl of 3 mace and 3 candareen (fl. 1.20) differs by around 10 times with one of the same diameter (painted) with the factory and around 8 with Whampoa (painted with the ships on the roadstead); these and those pieces which are now and then brought in by private individuals must be considered as rarities, which one makes a present of to friends in ones or twos and thus does not object to 2 to 3 taels'.<sup>138</sup>

Thus because of its high purchase price, such porcelain was not profitable for the Dutch East India Company and the few experiments with the porcelain 'with European drawing' were, as

has been said (pp. 108–110), unsuccessful. In the settlements, bills of lading, daybooks, etc. too one only sporadically finds a name that could refer to a decoration in Western style. Porcelain with such decorations obviously formed only a small part of the Company's assortment and the vast majority of such pieces were carried to Europe by private individuals or other Companies (see also p. 140 ff.).<sup>139</sup>

#### *d Packing and stowage*

When the porcelain that had been bought in or ordered had arrived and been checked, it was made ready for transshipment by the supercargos. This could be done by packing it either in chests or in 'tubs and bundles', according to the kind and the fragility. Coarse porcelain and especially the cheap 'couple ware', *i.e.* porcelains that fitted easily inside one another, such as tea and coffee cups and saucers, plates and various kinds of bowls and dishes, were packed in bundles. The tubs of cane or wood were somewhat stronger and were used for the finer

'couple ware', such as plates, fruit dishes, punchbowls and the like in enamel colours.<sup>140</sup>

Most of the porcelain, however, was sent in chests. These were of a standard size of six foot square and 18 *duim* high and they could be divided up inside by partitions into up to 64 compartments. The corners were strengthened with iron mounts and there were sometimes also wide iron bands to give extra protection against knocks.<sup>141</sup> When the importance of the porcelain trade suffered a sharp decline around 1788, the chests were reduced to only 11½ *duim* in height so that more tea could be stowed in the ships.<sup>142</sup> These chests, meant to be used once only, were made by Chinese carpenters and had to be paid for separately.<sup>143</sup>

The porcelain was packed around and filled up in all sorts of ways to protect it from breaking. Packing in straw and paper was the most common method, while bottles, tea pots, cupboard garnitures, etc. were filled with tea. Although sago or sugar were sometimes used as filling materials, they were completely unsuitable, since if they became damp, they would swell and this could cause the porcelain to break.

The number of complaints about breakages far exceed words of praise over careful packing, and with reason, for it appears that 5–6% of the porcelain arrived broken on average.<sup>144</sup> In accounting for this the supercargos mostly laid the blame on the rough handling of the ships' officers who were responsible for the storage, but they themselves will also have been somewhat culpable on occasion to judge from the following comment of the directors: 'Also, various packs of tea and coffee cups and saucers were certainly provided with paper, but were nonetheless found to be badly damaged, without any sherds or chips being found in the packs, from which it might well appear that they were bought in in that damaged state and thus that the required attention had not been given to that couple ware.'<sup>145</sup>

In the case of tea and coffee things obviously more cups than saucers got broken and so in 1739 the *Heeren XVII* decided that from then on 10% more cups should be sent, a rule that was kept to right to the end, also as regards the tea and coffee services.<sup>146</sup> The ribbed cups, which were much in demand in the Netherlands, figure only sparingly in the 'Requirements', the greater risk of breakages being expressly mentioned as the reason for this. In the case of dinner services extra plates and dishes were often ordered, for an incomplete service was difficult to sell in the Netherlands and fetched a much lower price.

Around 150 to 170 chests could be stowed in a 150-foot ship, an established fact which the supercargos had to keep to in their buying-in, regardless of the amounts specified in the 'Requirements'. Thus it was generally stated in the instructions to the supercargos that the amounts mentioned could be increased or reduced 'in equal proportions' in order to fill up the bottom layer of a single ship.<sup>147</sup>

The director M. W. Hulle was the first to give clear expression to the problem of how the chests could be packed to the best advantage.<sup>148</sup> In connection with the question, already referred to, of the relationship between the profitability of the various sorts and the purchase price (see p. 120), Hulle suggested in his report that there also existed a relationship between the space occupied by a piece of porcelain and the profit that could be made on it in the Netherlands. He gave a number of examples: a dinner service of 497 pieces yielded a profit of around 365%, but required two chests for packing, whereas while the average profit on tea and coffee cups and saucers was only 150%, they took up far less room in packing, so that two chests filled with them brought in a higher total profit than a dinner service.

The calculation of such relationships was exceedingly complicated, however, and depended on the returns on the sales, which changed each

year. Moreover, it was not possible to compile the assortment out of the most profitable kinds alone and so, despite the soundness of Hulle's arguments, the directors disregarded them. They had also disregarded his argument that it might be more advantageous to stow more than just one layer of porcelain, for according to his calculations, a layer of porcelain could bring in more profit than a layer of Bohea tea.<sup>149</sup> The *Heeren XVII*, however, were afraid of flooding the market and considered tea much more important.

All the same such practical considerations did play a part in the drawing up of the 'Requirements' and the choice of the assortment, even if these were not expressly stated. Large pieces like ewers, tureens, water vases, large dishes and so on were shipped to the Netherlands only in small quantities, not because there was no demand for them – the high profits prove the opposite – and not only because they were expensive to buy, but also because the costs of transport were so high in proportion.

The packing and stowage were done under the supervision of the supercargo who was responsible for the porcelain. In each chest was placed an 'unpacking note', which stated precisely what the contents were and should they prove to fall short of this, it was the supercargo who got the blame. In the period when the trade came under Batavia the copies of the unpacking notes were collected together in the 'Unpacking books of the Porcelains', which after 1757 became the 'Settlement of the Requirements for the Porcelains'. In the 1760's an attempt was made to pack all kinds with the same decoration together as far as possible and separate lists were made of this.<sup>150</sup> But because this involved an enormous amount of extra work, it was stopped after about ten years. It was, however, customary throughout the 18th century for a chest with numbered samples of the assortment purchased to be sent, reference being

made to this in the settlements. This chest of samples was placed in the cabin and was taken to the directors of the warehouse as soon as possible on arrival in the Netherlands, so that they straightaway had an idea of the assortment that had been brought.

### *e The sales in the Netherlands*

The cargos of the return ships from China were sold at the autumn sales in November or December. In the advertisements for the sales the porcelain is mostly announced only as 'a good consignment of porcelains from China' or something of that sort, with no further specification, but thanks to the discovery of two printed catalogues devoted to porcelain, which were brought out by the Zeeland Chamber in 1764 and 1769, it is now possible to obtain a better idea of how the sales were conducted.

The first catalogue (see fig. 67) concerns the porcelain brought back on the *Westervelt*, which was sold at Middelburg on 2 October 1764.<sup>151</sup> The prices fetched by many of the lots are written in the margin and by comparing these with the settlements it is possible to calculate the profits on various kinds of porcelain. In all the porcelain from the *Westervelt* fetched 83,867 guilders, a gross profit of 166% on a purchase price of 31,587 guilders.<sup>152</sup>

The arrangement of the catalogue is interesting. It comprises 293 lots, all of which are relatively small. Plates, for example, appear in lots of 500 or 550, punch bowls in lots of 40 to 90, depending on their size, tea and coffee cups and saucers in lots of 100, caudle cups and saucers in lots of 100. Cuspidors, salad bowls, large dishes, tureens and other kinds of which only small quantities were imported, were sold separately, but remarkably, services were again sold two, three or even five together, depending on



52 Dish and cover, tureen, mustard pot, sauce boat and salt cellar, parts of the service presented to Princess Wilhelmina of Prussia by U.G. Hemmingson in 1791. Decorated in enamel colours with the arms of the Princess and Prince Wilham V. Porcelain, Chinese, 1790–1. Collection of H. M. the Queen of the Netherlands.

their composition. The last lot consist of ‘a collection of shards by the heap’.

The lots comprise porcelain of the same design as far as possible and the memorandum relating to the samples and patterns will have been used in compiling the catalogue. This catalogue includes not only porcelain, but also thirty lots of lacquerwork, while in an appendix is mentioned the porcelain sold by the Company on behalf of private individuals. Anyone interested could inspect the samples beforehand at the Company’s warehouse, but they were not allowed to claim compensation after the sale, if the pieces they had bought proved different in colour or showed a slightly different decoration from the samples. ‘Clinking’, evidently a method whereby flaws or minute cracks could be detected, was not permitted, but a good 5% discount was given for any cracks discovered later. Payment was made at the cash desk, the sum being increased by a levy of one per thousand ‘for the poor’.

The second catalogue, drawn up in the same

way, concerns 275 lots brought over on the *Nieuw Rhoon*. These were sold in Middelburg on 2 November 1767. There are no notes of the prices in this catalogue. Porcelain was again sold on behalf of private individuals, but no lacquer was brought over that year.<sup>153</sup>

Both catalogues contain somewhat lower amounts than might have been expected on the basis of the settlements. The reason for this is undoubtedly to be found in the porcelain that was broken in transit, namely 5 to 7% of the amount bought in.

No other catalogues, of the Amsterdam Chamber, for example, have been found and thus it is not clear whether the publication of printed catalogues was the rule or an exception in the porcelain sales.<sup>154</sup>

Information is also to be found in the archives about the buyers at the sales. The most useful documents are the ‘Compilations of Sales’ of the Zeeland Chamber, which, in seven volumes, cover the periods 1724 to 1748, 1755 to 1767 and 1772 to 1777.<sup>155</sup> In them are re-

corded both the price and the purchaser of each lot of all the goods sold in Middelburg in those years. Thus these 'Compilations' are an important source of information for the commercial and economic history of the Netherlands in the 18th century.

What strikes one here is that while there were certainly thirty or more purchasers of porcelain at each sale, the bulk of it was bought by a relatively small number of them. The names of these large-scale porcelain buyers crop up regularly and it can be taken that they were wholesale dealers or brokers in porcelain and perhaps that they also took care of part of the exportation to other countries or acted as middlemen in respect of it. The Dutch East India Company did not participate in this transit trade, but account was taken of it during the buying-in in Canton. In 1785 the supercargos were assured 'that it is absolutely essential that current ware should be imported, for the West Indies, the Levant, Italy and Germany as well as the Netherlands',<sup>156</sup> The most important export markets are thus indicated. To the Middle East went the 'Moorish cups' (mention is made of Greek middlemen) and punchbowls, while octagonal scalloped tea cups and saucers and 'quarter-pint cups' found a market in Scandinavia. Porcelain with religious subjects, the so-called 'Jesuit porcelain', was meant for the South Netherlands.

The smaller purchasers may likewise have functioned as wholesalers, but it is also possible that they bought directly for their own stock-in-trade. Nothing can be said for certain about this, alas, because scarcely anything is known as yet about the porcelain trade and the keepers of porcelain shops in the Netherlands, so that the function and position of the purchasers cannot be specified more closely.

Only a few of the shopkeepers who sold Chinese porcelain in the 18th century are known by name and they are not mentioned in the Zeeland 'Compilations'. Martha Raap had a

porcelain shop on Nieuwmarkt in Amsterdam (Fig. 68) the stock of which was sold in 1778,<sup>157</sup> while from the papers of the director Radermacher has come the name of Malechias de la Vigne, who, as 'merchant in porcelain and Chinese wares at Amsterdam', petitioned Radermacher in vain in 1731 to be appointed supercargo on the *Nieuwliet*.<sup>158</sup> Many more shops will undoubtedly have existed where Chinese porcelain and Oriental curios were sold or could be ordered in a similar way to in London and Paris. There must certainly be a great deal of material still to be found regarding them in advertisements in 18th-century newspapers, in accounts of travels of that period and in municipal archives and the porcelain trade in the Netherlands thus merits a separate study.

In the period from 1724 to 1748 Jan de Beukelaar was unquestionably the biggest purchaser. He regularly bought 50,000 pieces, or sometimes even more than 100,000 pieces at once at the Zeeland sales. He met with competition from the brothers Caspar and Paulus Ribault and from Abraham Boudaen, who also bought large consignments. Dealers who took between 20,000 and 40,000 pieces were Hendrik van de Walle, Isaac Levij, the firm of Boursse & Grymalle, the firm of Van der Elst & Goethals, Jan de Moor and Joost van Huijen, while towards the end of the period Roelant Leenders became important. In the second period, 1755 to 1765, Jan de Beukelaar no longer appears, but Ribault and Boudaen remained among the biggest purchasers and the others mentioned above bought only small consignments. Their places were now taken by Paulus Hendrik Securier, Jeremias van Nederveen, the brothers Abraham and Johannes de Smit, Lambertus Schoft and, above all, the firm of Boursse, Superville & Smith. In the period 1772 to 1777 the Smith brothers, Boudaen and the Boursse firm were still in the lead, while the firm of Hazebomme, Van Citters & Catteau also made large purchases.



53 Tea cup, decorated with a scene of Europeans in a Chinese porcelain shop in enamel colours, with original(?) stand. Porcelain, diam. 8.5 cm, Chinese, c. 1750. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



54 Other side of cup in Fig. 53.

None of these large-scale purchasers can be said to have specialized in porcelain, since they also bought tea, silks and other goods. In the case of the smaller dealers this is more difficult to find out, since they do not crop up so regularly, but they too did not generally limit themselves to porcelain alone.

A number of these dealers also bought at the sales of the Amsterdam Chamber, for their names appear in the debtors' statements.<sup>159</sup> Unfortunately, however, these do not give any specification of the goods in question, so that it is not certain whether they also functioned there as porcelain buyers.

For the Company porcelain was merely a commodity that was required to bring in a profit and the relevant information about the returns is also to be found in the archives. The most useful documents are the 'Collocations of the Sales' already mentioned in Chapter I (see p. 33), which give the proceeds on the return shipments from China per commodity for the period 1730 to 1759. The 'General Statements' are less helpful, because under the heading of 'porcelains' here is also included the porcelain that was sent to the Netherlands via Batavia from 1736 to 1747, which does not

belong to the actual return shipments from China.

The 'General Statements' can, however, be used for the period after 1759, for the porcelain that Batavia received from China at that time was meant exclusively for internal use and Japan was no longer supplying any porcelain to the Dutch East India Company, so that it can be taken that all the porcelain sold by the Chambers then, according to the 'General Statements', had come from the return shipments from China. 'Contraband' porcelain and porcelain carried on freight and sold for private individuals is listed separately. The 'General Statements' run through without a break to 1789, but for the period after that information can be gleaned only sporadically from other sources.

In Appendix 9 the gross profits are calculated by comparing the figures for the proceeds on the sales with those for the buying-in, which can be made out from the daybooks of the factory and the settlements. What strikes one here is that the profits were very high during the first period of direct trade, 190% on average, which is due to the fact that at that period, for the first time for years, the Dutch East India

Company again brought an assortment of its own on to the market, which was evidently eagerly snapped up (see p. 94).

The profits during the period when the China trade came under Batavia were much less right from the start, rising above 100% only every now and then. In those years the picture varies somewhat, this possibly being attributable to the quality of the porcelain bought in. The profits on the porcelain in 1752, which were certainly uncommonly low, were perhaps the result of an exceptionally large amount arriving in the Netherlands broken.<sup>160</sup>

The reorganization of the China trade in 1756 is clearly reflected in the profits for the years thereafter. The quality of the porcelain bought in and the variety in the assortment thus differed markedly from that which the Batavian supercargos had sent, while the vogue for things Chinese, which caught on in the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe precisely at that time, will also have had an effect.

Around the 1770's the profits declined again, since in those years less attention was paid to the buying-in of porcelain. The upswing from 1776 to 1778 is remarkable, for the porcelain bought in then scarcely differed from that of the preceding years, nor were any new models or dec-

orations sent. The lower purchase prices were probably owed to the efforts of A. F. de l'Heureux, who was the director at the period (see Appendix 2). Not until 1777 did the *Heeren XVII* send examples of the 'Cherry picker' pattern and other 'European paintings'. The porcelain thus decorated reached the Netherlands in 1779 and kept the profits of the whole cargo of porcelain at a good level, but the next year's shipment already brought in rather less and this was considered reason enough for not asking for any more porcelain of that kind (see pp. 108–110).

After the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War the gross profits declined sharply and 1787 even saw a loss. This made the China Committee decide to limit the buying-in of porcelain from then on to the most profitable kinds and to put as little money as possible into it.

Over the whole period from 1729 to 1794 the gross profits amounted to 85% on average, while porcelain's share in the total gross profits on the return shipments from China came to 5–6% on average, as is clear from Table 2.<sup>161</sup> Thus no financial risks were run on porcelain and it may thus be concluded that it was an advantageous and indispensable part of the China trade.

*Table 2 Comparison between the profits on the return shipments from China and those on porcelain in guilders, for the period 1729–92 (figures as far as they are known – see Appendices 6 and 9. For 1729–33 Amsterdam Chamber only; amounts in fl.)*

Period	Total gross profit on return shipments	Gross profit on porcelain	%
1729–1733	2,819,063	541,605	19.2
1736–1740	2,320,159	311,500	13.4
1742–1745	4,108,988	216,648	5.3
1746–1750	4,966,596	183,852	3.7
1751–1756	5,418,661	339,977	6.3
1757–1763	12,874,859	768,077	6.0
1764–1768	10,398,066	570,732	5.5
1769–1774	11,447,173	496,322	4.3
1775–1779	6,096,796	330,324	5.4
1783–1792	7,599,533	193,321	2.5





55 The preparation of the clay, the making and drying of porcelain. Gouache on paper, one of a set, 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



56 The finishing and glazing of porcelain. Gouache on paper, one of a set 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



57 Filling the saggars and stacking them in the kilns. Gouache on paper, one of a set, 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



58 Firing porcelain decorated with overglaze enamel colours in a muffle kiln. Gouache on paper, one of a set, 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Princessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.

### *f Porcelain for Batavia and the 'outlying factories'*

Some attention must also be paid to the porcelain that was bought for Batavia in Canton.

During the first period of direct trade no porcelain at all was bought by the supercargos for Batavia. During the period 1735–56 the organization was straightforward. In Batavia a 'Requirements' list was given to the supercargos



59 The selling of porcelain stored in a depot. Gouache on paper, one of a set, 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Prinsessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.



60 Porcelain being transported in tubs to Canton over the Meiling Pass. Gouache on paper, one of a set, 30 × 28 cm, Canton, late 18th century. Prinsessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.

and the porcelain bought in was sent as ballast on the return ship to Batavia. There it served 'for the use of the small shop of this Castle, for provisioning the ships and further for other necessary functions in the housekeeping here'.<sup>162</sup> Apart from that it was also sent to the various 'outlying factories' and even the Cape was furnished with the tableware it needed in this way. Without exception it was blue-and-white porcelain that was asked for and it is not clear why Batavia set no store on coloured ware.

The amounts that were sent and the sums involved in them varied quite a lot, but on average porcelain to the value of 3,500 to 4,000 guilders was bought each year.<sup>163</sup> In addition to the return ship, porcelain was also imported into Batavia by the junks, as it had been previously. Thus the supercargos had to take care to buy in in Canton, for example, dishes that were of a lower price than that for which dishes were offered in Batavia and that was not always too easy.<sup>164</sup>

In general it can be said that Batavia did not use this porcelain for the inter-Asiatic trade, but there were two exceptions, namely the shipments to Kareek and Surat. Kareek was an island off the coast of Persia, on which since 1753 the *Hoge Regering* had been trying, against the will of the *Heeren XVII* to concentrate all its trade with the Persian Gulf.<sup>165</sup> Evidently there were also thought to be possibilities of selling porcelain in Mesopotamia, for in 1755 the supercargos sent from Canton to Batavia 220 chests with 51,740 pieces of porcelain to a value of 30,833 guilders, this being earmarked for 'Basjoura or Kariék'.<sup>166</sup> This attempt does not appear to have been very successful however; at least nothing more is said about it in the years thereafter.

More important were the shipments made from 1748 onwards in the context of the direct trade between Canton and Surat (see p. 30). The director in Surat regularly sent 'Requirements' for porcelain and the supercargos in Canton placed separate orders for

Surat, where coffee cups with colourful floral patterns in particular were in vogue.<sup>167</sup> After the *Heeren XVII* imposed their ban in 1752, trade with Surat was continued indirectly via Batavia and for this too porcelain was shipped in great quantity.<sup>168</sup> The English shipments to India were undoubtedly more important than the Dutch, but since scarcely any research has been done on them as yet, it is not possible to make a comparison.<sup>169</sup>

Complicating factors in this section of the porcelain trade are the shipments from Canton to the Netherlands in the period 1735–46, which were made not direct, but via Batavia. Nearly every year then the supercargos loaded on to the return ship to Batavia not only porcelain for the ‘Capital’, but also additional porcelain for the Netherlands. This was bought in at Batavia’s expense and thus did *not* belong to the actual return shipments from China. Unfortunately, specified lists of these shipments survive only rarely. From the unloading book of the *Magdalena* it appears that a complete assortment was sent in 1736,<sup>170</sup> but on the *Crooswijk* in 1737 the shipment mainly comprised tea and coffee cups and saucers, dinner

plates and bowls. In view of the increased risk of breakage on the transferal in Batavia, these shipments will have been mainly composed of such relatively inexpensive ‘couple ware’ in the other years too. Most of the porcelain actually was transferred in Batavia to the return ships for the Netherlands, but it is not inconceivable that part of it was also kept back, with or without the approval of the *Hoge Regering*.

With the exception of the shipment of 1735, which was already sold in 1736, the porcelain that the supercargos sent via Batavia arrived in the Netherlands two years after it had been purchased in Canton. It was sold separately and the profit made on it was not included under the returns from the China trade. The purchase prices are known for this porcelain too and the gross profit can be calculated with the aid of the information in the ‘Collocation of the Sales’. The results, given in Appendix 10, show that quite strong fluctuations occurred, but in general the profits were lower than those on the porcelain that came direct from China, which was of better quality.

The loss that was incurred on the consignment sold in 1748, which had been bought in in



61 Goldfish bowl, decorated in colours with ‘the porcelain factory’, showing the preparation of clay and the making, finishing and glazing of porcelain. Porcelain, h. 40cm, diam. 60.2cm, Chinese, c. 1730–40. Gemeente Museum, The Hague.



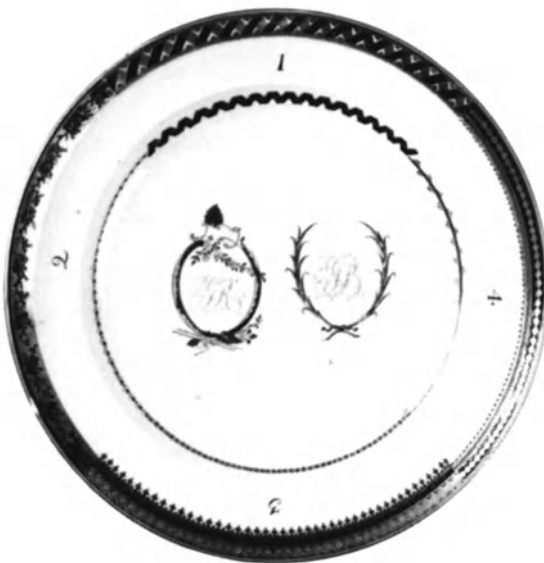
62 Other side of goldfish bowl in Fig. 61, with the filling of the saggars with the dried and painted porcelain.



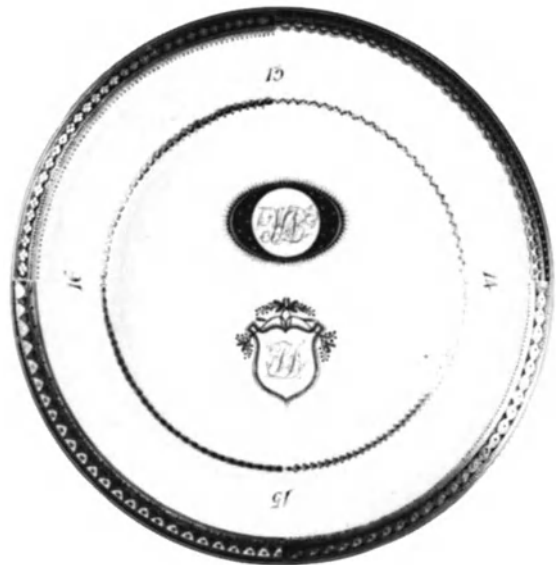
63 The painting of undecorated porcelain in a Chinese workplace. Gouache on paper, 23.5 × 23.5 cm, Canton, early 19th century. Private collection.



64 The painting of porcelain with enamel colours Gouache on paper, 32.8 × 26 cm, Canton, c. 1800. Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



65 Pattern plate with examples of borders and monogram cartouches. Porcelain, diam. 25 cm, Chinese, c. 1790–5. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



66 Pattern plate with examples of borders and monogram cartouches. Porcelain, diam. 25 cm, Chinese, c. 1790–5. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

1746, cannot have been the reason why the sending of porcelain via Batavia was stopped in 1747, but it certainly illustrates the correctness of that decision. The real reason is not mentioned, but it is probably to be found in the fact

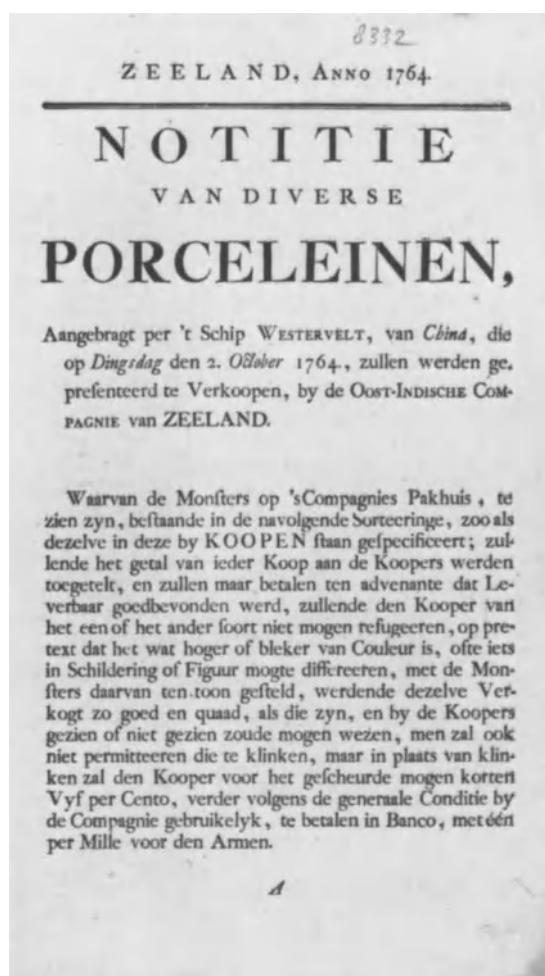
that private individuals were shipping porcelain to the Netherlands on freight to an increasing extent.

After the introduction of the direct trade with China from the Netherlands the ships no

longer called at Batavia on the homeward voyage and the porcelain and other commodities that had been asked for by the *Hoge Regering*, had to be taken there by cargo ships from Canton or Macao.<sup>171</sup>

After the defeats at the hands of the English the porcelain trade with Surat disappeared completely and the 'Requirements' from Batavia were concerned exclusively with porcelain for domestic use. In the period 1757–87 porcelain to the value of 2,500 to 4,000 guilders was bought in annually in Canton for Batavia,

around 7,000 to 13,000 pieces, largely supplied by the porcelain dealer Quonnak.<sup>172</sup> The assortment continued, as in previous years, to consist of the traditional, probably rather coarse blue-and-white dinner and soup plates, rice bowls, dishes, with a few butter dishes, tureens or a service now and then. Tea and coffee ware was never asked for and could evidently be obtained more cheaply at the market in Batavia. The supercargos wrote of this coarse porcelain in a letter 'that it is suitable for our Colonies in the Indies and not for Europe, having been found



67 Title-page of the catalogue of the sale of porcelain brought by the *Westervelt*, held at Middelburg on 2 October 1764. National Archives, V.O.C. 7474.



68 Jan ten Compe (1713–61), the Nieuwe Markt in Amsterdam, detail with Cornelis Kleerbesem's porcelain shop, later run by his widow Martha Raap. Oil on panel, 71 × 101 cm. Edwina van Heck Foundation, Singraven.

to be unsaleable there'.<sup>173</sup> Private individuals will also have been of the same opinion and they will not have bought in such porcelain for shipment to the Netherlands.

In the 1770's it became more difficult to obtain coarse porcelain in Canton (see p. 124) and this will have been noticeable in Batavia. This was perhaps the reason why on its foundation in 1778 the Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences offered a prize to anyone who 'produced at Batavia coarse porcelain for the use of the common man, similar in quality and price to that imported by the Chinese'.<sup>174</sup>

In fact the importation of porcelain into Batavia by Chinese junks was greatly reduced in those years (see p. 38). In this connection it is interesting that in 1775 the porcelain dealer Lisjoncon sent 80 tubs and 746 bundles of porcelain on freight to Batavia in the *Bleijenburg*, which had run aground in Canton on its way to Japan.<sup>175</sup> There were evidently no Chinese junks sailing to Batavia at that time, which could have carried this cargo more cheaply.

The shipments by the supercargos came to an end in 1787, when the *Hoge Regering* decided to order all the porcelain needed from the junks again. It was dissatisfied with the bad packing, which was a common occurrence, and the large amount of porcelain that arrived broken as a result, while far too much porcelain was also sent which completely disregarded the 'Requirements'.<sup>176</sup>

### 3 *Porcelain of and for private individuals*

From the study of the archives it has clearly emerged that the Dutch East India Company did not concern itself in any way at all with commissions and orders for porcelain for private individuals, for nowhere is any mention made of them. Nor is there anywhere any men-

tion in the archives of models, prints or other samples that could have been sent by private individuals.

But porcelain was certainly no exclusive trade commodity of the Company's and it never claimed that it was. Throughout the whole of the 18th century members of ship's complements were allowed to take porcelain along with them in their sea chests as 'permitted goods' and it was also possible to send porcelain on freight to the Netherlands in Company ships as a private individual, on payment of 40% of the value.<sup>177</sup> Little or no use was made of the latter possibility however; at least there is no mention in the financial documents of income from porcelain on freight, except during the period 1744–7. In 1744 the possibility was again offered of sending porcelain on freight in the context of the partial opening of the China trade to private individuals.<sup>178</sup> Some private individuals did make use of the opportunity for a few years, in combination with the sending of tea on freight, but they evidently found the costs too high after all. Thus, as a result of lack of interest, the *Hoge Regering* let it be known in 1763 that porcelain could no longer be carried on freight from then on.<sup>179</sup>

The 'General Statements' indicate what amounts came to the Netherlands on freight in the period 1744–7. Forty per cent of the proceeds on the sales of this porcelain was booked as the Company's fee, so that the total proceeds can be calculated. The survey below shows that the amounts and sums involved were large: (see table 3)

In 1750 the possibilities for the private porcelain trade were enlarged, the *Heeren XVII* deciding then that 'permitted goods' could also be sold at the Company's sales, if so desired.<sup>181</sup> For porcelain the Company charged only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the proceeds, which was considerably cheaper than the cost of sending it on freight.<sup>182</sup> Thus members of the ships' crews, officers and supercargos made intensive use of this, if not for

themselves, then certainly for others – at a fee. This is clear from various sources. First of all there is the ‘Compilation of Sales’ of the Zeeland Chamber, in which this ‘porcelain of Private Individuals’ regularly appears from 1755 onwards, being specified separately.<sup>183</sup> Then there is the ‘Collocation of the Sales’ of the Amsterdam Chamber over the years 1781–94, in which the proceeds on the ‘porcelain of officers’ are likewise mentioned separately.<sup>184</sup> Thirdly, there are the two porcelain sale catalogues of the Zeeland Chamber already mentioned above, which have sections specially devoted to the porcelain of private individuals.

Finally, there are four printed sale lists of the Delft Chamber, concerning the sale of private goods among which, alongside tea, cotton textiles and canes, porcelain also occurs, being entered under lot numbers and occasionally having the price noted in the margin.<sup>185</sup>

The sums mentioned in the ‘Compilation’ and the ‘Collocation’ are the total proceeds. These are not, of course, mentioned in the ‘General Statements’, because they were handed over to the senders after the deduction of  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ . The names of the senders are not recorded, alas.

As is clear from Table 4, the private individuals had an important share in the market at

*Table 3 Porcelain shipped to the Netherlands on freight by the Dutch East India Company for private individuals, 1744–47<sup>180</sup>*

Year of purchase	No. of pieces	Total profit in Holland guilders	Chamber
1744	69,042	16,082	Zeeland
1744	?	34,085	Amsterdam
1745	60,870	12,349	Zeeland
1746	170,762	33,947	Zeeland
1746	43,148	20,370	Amsterdam
1747	211,425	41,985	Zeeland
1747	153,872	14,050	Amsterdam
1748–63	No porcelain on freight		

*Table 4 Permitted porcelain of private individuals, sold by the Chambers of Zeeland (1755–76) and Amsterdam (1783–93)*

Year of sale	Proceeds in Holland guilders	Year of sale	Proceeds in Holland guilders
1755	5,382	1774	6,780
1756	30,264	1775	3,186
1757	16,308	1776	2,292
1758	32,196		
1759	33,162	1783	1,087
1760	16,152	1784	6,086
1761	22,566	1785	5,525
1762	26,514	1786	6,871
1763	19,818	1787	3,393
1764	27,786	1788	2,834
1765	36,594	1789	4,294
1766	27,048	1790	3,158
		1791	5,140
1772	8,448	1792	3,178
1773	774	1793	1,523

first. Like the Company, they profited from the fashion for things Chinese, which was then at its height in the Netherlands. In 1772, however, public interest had evidently declined, which resulted in a reduction in the porcelain offered for sale by private individuals.

What we are concerned with here, of course, is only the porcelain earmarked by private individuals for trade. The amounts that did not appear at the sales, but were meant for their purchasers' own use or were sold in other ways, are totally unknown, alas.

It must also be remembered that this porcelain was not just that which was loaded on to the China ships in Canton by the Company's servants, but that the bulk of it was brought by the return ships from Batavia. Thus it will also have included porcelain that had been bought in Japan and reached the Netherlands in this way.<sup>186</sup>

From the printed catalogues of Zeeland and the sale lists of Delft an idea can be gained of the kinds that were imported by private individuals. Naturally they concentrated on the most profitable kinds and these were undoubtedly tea and coffee cups and saucers, which could, after all, be packed to great advantage and for which there was a constant demand among the public. In addition to the ordinary blue-and-white kinds and those in enamel colours, one often finds more exclusive cups and saucers, such as 'octagonal with Parsley pattern', 'with wavy edges', 'brown with gold shields' or 'blue-and-white with bouquets'. Blue-and-white ware with a brown rim was evidently also considered profitable, as were white tea cups and saucers with red or black (*encre de Chine?*) flowers and a gold rim, which were sold in Delft in 1768.

Otherwise, private individuals mainly had tea and dinner services sold. Some of these are exceptionally interesting, such as an armorial dinner service: 'octagonal, Marseille ground with arms and gold rims, of 179 pieces',

brought by the *Westervelt* in 1764. A similar example is to be found in an unexpected source. A 1797 catalogue of a London saleroom offers various tea, coffee and dinner services, decorated with arms and initials, from the Dutch ships *Suijderburgh* and *Schelde*. These had left Canton in 1794 and fallen into English hands on the homeward voyage. Although these private services were of no use to anyone but the people who had ordered them, they still fetched high prices.<sup>187</sup> A dinner service in enamel colours, sold in Delft in 1765, included two butter dishes in the form of melons. It comprised 125 pieces and fetched 121 guilders, which was an exceptionally high price by comparison with those the Dutch East India Company usually obtained for such services. In 1767 four tea services were sold in Delft, 'black with a portrait and a gold rim'. Together with two blue-and-white services, they fetched 57 guilders. In Zeeland in the same year four large flowerpots were brought from China in the *Nieuw Rhoon* by private individuals and six coffee pots 'with lids in the form of a carp'.

Also interesting is the appearance of Japanese porcelain. Although the Dutch East India Company bought no more porcelain in Japan after 1757, mainly because the prices were too high, it was evidently certainly still of interest to private individuals to bring such porcelain on to the market.<sup>188</sup> Here too it was mainly blue-and-white tea and coffee cups and saucers that were involved, 350 of them being sold in Delft in 1765, 1594 in 1766. In addition, 'Japanese bowls' and coffee pots were also sold. Number 225 in the Delft sale of 1766 is most curious: '10 Japanese coffee pots, 47 large and 170 small fishes'. By 'fishes' may perhaps have been meant vases in the form of a leaping fish, sometimes with a small boy on its back, such as were certainly quite often made in Japanese porcelain, or tureens shaped like a fish, well-known in Chinese porcelain.<sup>189</sup>

The obvious thing for private individuals



and shopkeepers, who wanted special pieces of porcelain, to do was to seek contact with officers and supercargos bound for the East and especially for China. The service that Jacob Linberg had made in China around 1750 for Hendrik Swellengrebel, governor at the Cape, is well known in this connection, and he will not have been the only one who had such a good subsidiary source of income.<sup>190</sup> Only now and then, however, is there anything to be found in the Dutch East India Company's archives about these private activities of its servants.

Thus in 1770 28 blue-and-white 'beakers' and 9 lids were shipped to Amsterdam, which matched the cupboard garnitures that the firm of Boas Levij & Zonen had bought incomplete at the Dutch East India Company's sale. Levij asked the assistant J. H. Rijnnach in Canton by letter to have the missing parts made again and the director gave permission for these pieces to be sent as part of the Company's shipment.<sup>191</sup>

In 1774 the China Committee was informed that the buying-in of porcelain had been taken in hand by the supercargo H. Klinkert, who for the tureens and other large pieces had made successful use of 'the models that he himself has brought here'.<sup>192</sup> It can be taken that Klinkert did not employ these models exclusively for the Company's benefit.

A separate case were the consignments of porcelain addressed to the directors that the supercargos sent on the ships. Both in 1778 and 1779 P. Kintsius, the director in Canton, sent a chest of porcelain to Director van der Hoop, who had requested them in 1776 from Jan Elin, who had died in the interim.<sup>193</sup>

In 1780 porcelain was sent on the *Honcoop* for the Company's advocate Meerman van der Goes, 'comprising some pieces of porcelain for supplementing the same's dinner service'.<sup>194</sup> Since the *Honcoop* was seized by the English in Saldanha Bay, these supplementary pieces (for a Chinese or English service?) had to be re-ordered and thanks to numerous delays, it was

1787 before the advocate could boast of a complete service again.<sup>195</sup>

In 1790 Hemmingson, the director in Canton, gave the bookkeeper J. W. D. van der Heijden permission to send a chest of porcelain to the Leiden burgomaster and director Van Gerven. The following year Van Braam Houckgeest sent another chest to Van Gerven and also one to Mrs. van Winter-van der Poorten in Amsterdam, 'since no other way was open for meeting the requests of the owners'.<sup>196</sup> Since no further descriptions of the above-mentioned porcelain are available, it is not, alas, possible to trace pieces that might have formed part of these orders.

Finally, a great deal of porcelain also found its way to the Netherlands as part of the property of repatriated Company servants, *e.g.* porcelain bearing the arms of the Sichterman family.<sup>197</sup> (Figs. 69–70). This also emerges very clearly from the request put in to the China Committee in 1764 by M. W. Hulle, the director of the factory: '... that it may graciously be granted to him, the suppliant, to bring with him the contents of two five-foot chests, consisting of porcelain, paintings and other Chinese knick-knacks and curios'.<sup>198</sup>

In addition to all the legal possibilities, porcelain will undoubtedly also have been smuggled. The 'confiscated porcelains', which were sold by the Company from time to time, probably constituted only a fraction of the quantities that did manage to slip through the net.

From what has been said above it is clear that there existed many opportunities for private individuals for shipping porcelain to the Netherlands or having it shipped there and that extensive use was made of them. Since there is a total lack in the Dutch East India Company archives of information which could indicate that the Company bought or ordered porcelain to private commissions, the conclusion must be that all the porcelain that exhibits a relationship with a given person or family in some way must

have reached the Netherlands via private individuals. This includes all the armorial porcelain, porcelain with monograms, marriage and memorial plates and the like.

Some of these are of particular interest, because they are clearly connected with servants of the Dutch East India Company in Canton or

on the China ships. A plate in the Frisian Museum in Leeuwarden, part of a larger series, shows the ship the *Slooten* and an allegorical representation of a marriage alliance (Fig. 71).<sup>199</sup> It was presumably made for Captain Anneaus Lodewijk Bettingh, who married Aletta Hillegonda Meyers in 1750.<sup>200</sup> He had



69 Vase and cover, decorated in enamel colours with the arms of A. J. Sichterman (1692–1764) and most probably brought by him from the East Indies on his return home in 1745. Part of a set comprising two vases and covers and three ‘beakers’. Porcelain, h. 66.5 cm, Chinese, c. 1740–5. Groningen Museum, Groningen.



70 ‘Beaker’ vase, part of the same set as the vase and cover in Fig. 69. Porcelain, h. 47.2 cm, Chinese, c. 1740. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

been in Canton with the *Slooten* the year before, so he would have had every opportunity of having such a service made. A much later piece is a tea caddy with a depiction of the *Alblasserdam* with the date 1790 and two monograms which, in view of the symbolic doves, likewise indicate

a marriage (Fig. 72). One of the monograms is to be read as that of the supercargo J. A. de Melander, who according to the papers for that year did, indeed, get married then in Macao (see p. 65). A sugar bowl in the Groningen Museum shows the *Vasco da Gama*, which, like



71 Plate, decorated in *encre-de-Chine* with an allegory on the marriage of Captain A. L. Bettingh and A. H. Meyers, which took place in 1750, and below it a representation of his ship, the *Slooten*, which was in Canton in 1749. Porcelain, diam. 22.5 cm, Chinese, 1749. Frisian Museum, Leeuwarden.



72 Tea caddy, decorated in enamel colours with a representation of the *Alblasterdam*, which was in Canton in 1790. Made on the occasion of the marriage of the assistant J. A. de Melander in 1790. Porcelain, h. 15 cm, base 4 × 9 cm, Chinese, 1790. Private collection.



73 Sugar bowl, decorated in enamel colours with a representation of the *Vasco da Gama*, which was in Canton in 1790. Porcelain, h. 6.3 cm, diam. 12 cm, Chinese, 1790. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

the *Alblasterdam*, was in Canton in 1790 (Fig. 73).<sup>201</sup> It has not yet proved possible to identify the monograms here. The well-known plates with a depiction of the *Vrijburg* also fall into this category. This ship was in Canton in 1756 and various versions exist of the souvenir plates ordered at that time.<sup>202</sup> The example illustrated here, in the Zeeland Museum at Middelburg (Fig. 74), was made to the commission of the mate, Christiaan Schooneman. Other plates bear the name of the captain, Jacob Rijzik, and other officers probably had one or more examples made as well.

Most other types of *Chine de Commande* can also be said to have been ordered privately and shipped as private goods. Because of the unusual, often carefully executed painting, it cost a lot more to obtain and it was therefore not profitable enough for the Company. One may think here of the punch bowls mentioned above with representations of 'the roadstead of Whampoa' and 'the factory', of porcelain with subjects borrowed from classical mythology (Leda and the Swan, the Judgement of Paris, Juno on the clouds, etc.) or of porcelain with views of towns (the town inn and herring-packer's tower in Amsterdam). Porcelain with *galante* or erotic subjects, with portraits (William V, Cocceius, Voetius) and with depictions of unusual events ('the miracle of Zaandam', 'Actie' plates) also comes into this category, as do all those pieces obviously painted after European prints. Even the porcelain with religious subjects, the so-called 'Jesuit porcelain' that was exported to Catholic regions, must largely have been bought in by private individuals, for the Dutch East India Company asked for it only once, in 1778 (see pag. 108). The Company only rarely shipped porcelain with Western themes and for that reason this *Chine de Commande* cannot be regarded as illustrative of the assortment that it handled.



74 Plate, decorated in enamel colours with a representation of the *Vrijburg*, which was in Canton in 1756. Made for the first mate Christiaan Schooneman. Porcelain, diam. 38 cm, Chinese, 1756. Zeeland Museum, Middelburg.

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## IV The porcelain

### 1 Introduction

Notwithstanding the quantities brought back to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century, porcelain was still regarded for a very long time not only as table ware, but also as something special, as an 'ornament' to make a display with. Initially it was set out on a finely carved wooden rack or in a small glass-fronted cupboard on the wall, mention of which is already to be found in an inventory of 1615.<sup>1</sup> Only at the end of the 17th century did the porcelain cabinet make its appearance as a decorative piece of furniture.

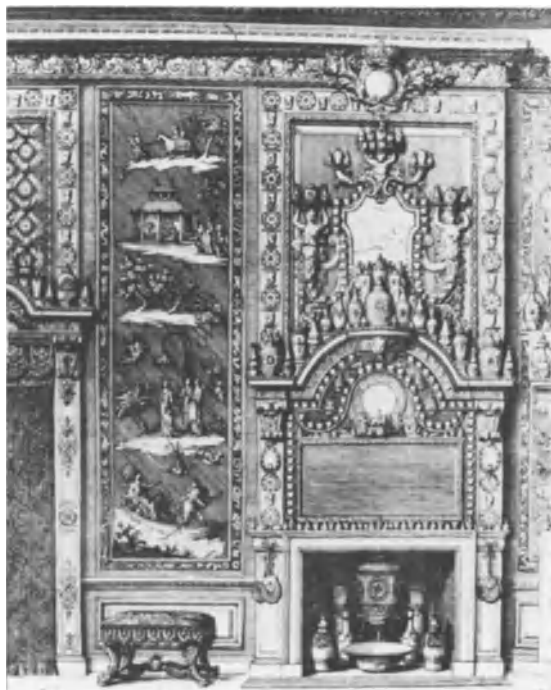
Another way of showing off one's collection of porcelain was to place it on top of cupboards or to arrange it on brackets and cornices against the walls. This characteristically Dutch custom undoubtedly contributed to the coming into being of the porcelain cabinet or 'China closet', which became fashionable in the second half of the 17th century in the courts and country-houses of the House of Orange-Nassau in particular. In such a cabinet porcelain was placed in a formal arrangement on *étagères* at various heights on the walls, above the doors, between the windows or even high up on a cornice below the ceiling. The chimneypiece, the focal point of the room, acquired on either side and in front a set of brackets crammed with porcelain,

which was effectively reflected by the mirror.<sup>2</sup>

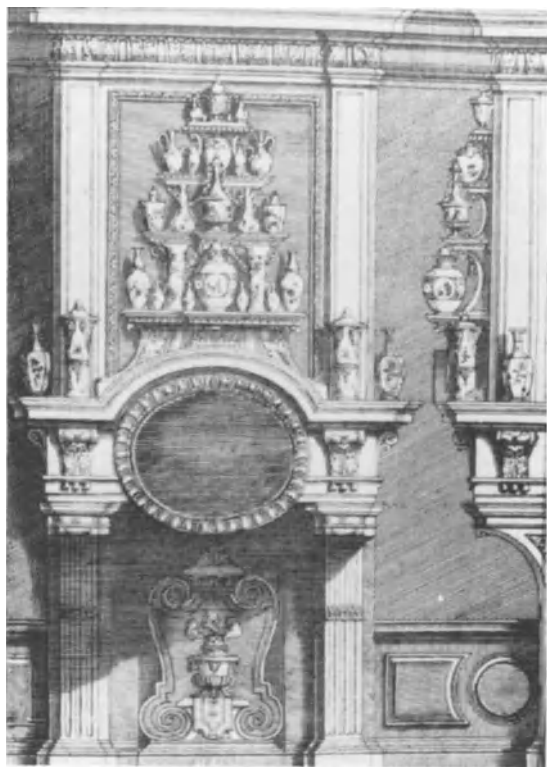
The example of the courts of the House of Orange, along with the prints of interior designs by Daniel Marot (1661–1752), contributed a great deal to the spread of such China closets at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. (Figs. 75–76). Famous examples are those at Hampton Court and in the palace at Dresden, where Augustus the Strong had installed his enormous collection of Oriental ceramics.

The example of the royal courts was also followed by well-to-do commoners – in the Netherlands too – albeit on a less extravagant scale. Vases, bowls, dishes, plates and other objects decorated the living rooms, the dining room or the study, arranged on brackets and chimneypieces. Here the porcelain objects, now available in quantity, were scarcely, if at all, valued as individual objects any more, but had come instead to be used as a decorative element in the furnishing of a room. (Fig. 77).

This shift in the use and appreciation of Chinese porcelain can also be demonstrated in another way, for example from the 17th-century Dutch still lifes in which porcelain is often depicted.<sup>3</sup> The sumptuous character of the porcelain fitted in well with the costly silver, the exotic fruit and the rich draperies with



75 Daniel Marot (c. 1661–1752), design for a chimney-piece, copper engraving from the series 'Nouvelles Cheminées', ca. 1695. From P. Jessen, *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot*, Berlin 1892, p. 146.



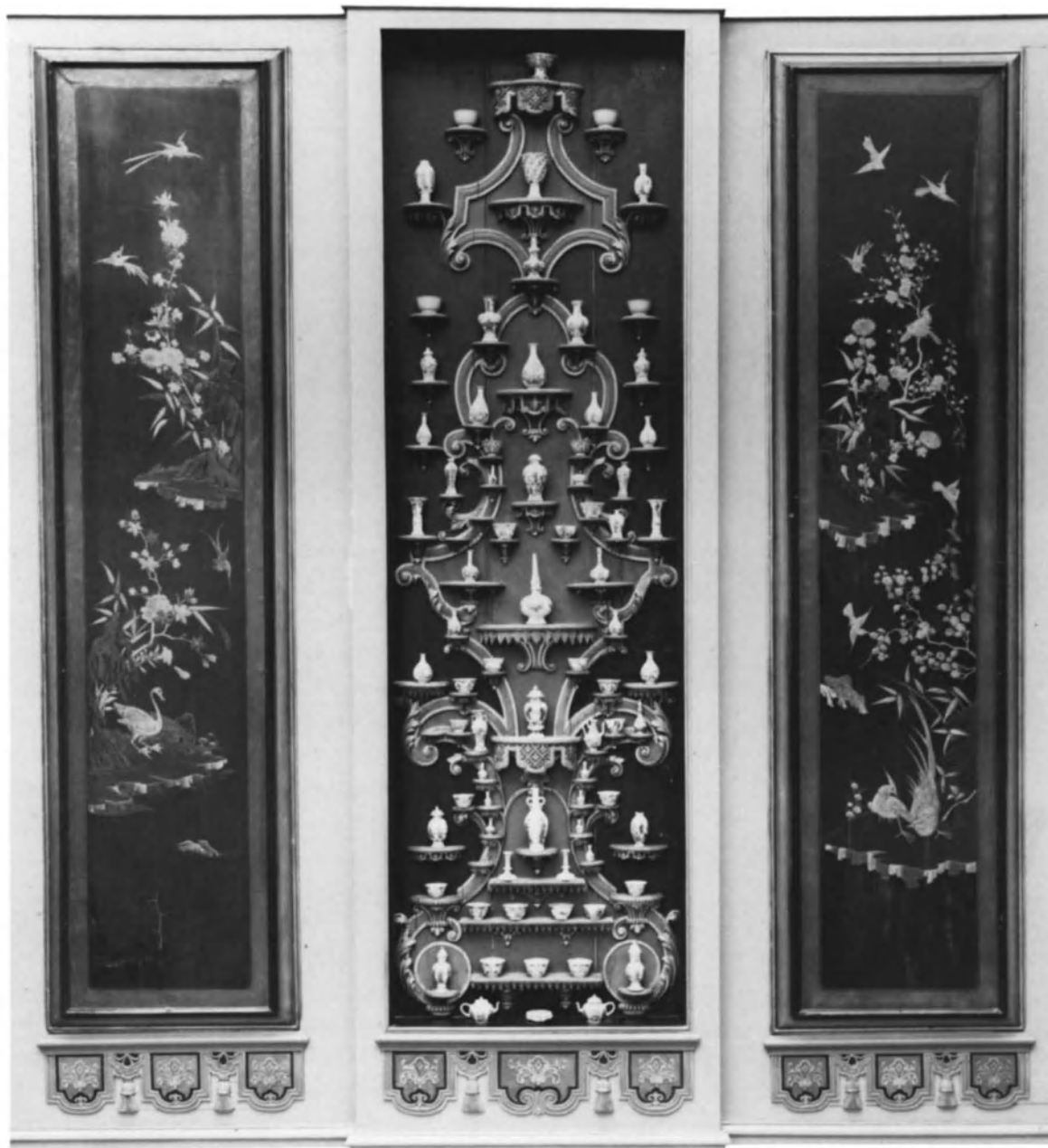
76 Daniel Marot, design for a chimney-piece, copper engraving from the series 'Cheminées à la Hollandaise', ca. 1695. From P. Jessen, *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot*, Berlin 1892, p. 143.

which the prominence and wealth of their owners were emphasized in such pictures. At the same time these paintings often give expression in a more or less covert way to the *Vanitas* idea and fragile porcelain was well suited to this symbolism too. In 18th-century paintings things are quite different. A piece of porcelain is shown there at the most in scenes of daily life, in the drinking of tea or coffee in the family circle or among friends, but it no longer appears as an interesting object in its own right.

The role played by porcelain in social life had thus undergone a great change by the 18th century. Instead of being a rare and costly object, a piece of porcelain had now become an utensil and porcelain found a market among wide strata of the population. This was also bound up with changing eating and drinking habits. Porcelain had already long been regarded as pre-eminently suitable for tableware, since it was strong, easy to clean and decorative and gleaming into the bargain. When the use of dinner services became more common towards the end of the 17th century and the drinking of tea, coffee and chocolate a rapidly spreading fashion, the demand for porcelain increased.

That the market was structured differently around 1730 from what it had been in the 17th century and how much greater the demand was when the Company began to concern itself with the porcelain trade again, is made abundantly clear by a comparison of the import figures. Volker has calculated that from 1602 to 1682 over 3.2 million pieces of Chinese and Japanese porcelain were shipped to Europe by the Dutch East India Company,<sup>4</sup> but this amount was already far exceeded in the first period of direct trade (1729–34) when the Company imported nearly 4.5 million pieces. According to the reports in the 'General Statements', around 42.5 million pieces in all were handled at the Company's sales between 1730 and 1789.<sup>5</sup>

It has already been pointed out in the previous chapter that in the 18th century the



77 Part of a wall panelling with brackets for porcelain and a lacquer panel in Japanese style on either side. From a house on the corner of Noordeinde and Hogewal in The Hague. Painted and lacquered wood, h. 300 cm, w. 463 cm, Dutch, early 18th century. Gemeente Museum, The Hague.



Company only rarely handled porcelain with unusual decoration or an exclusive form and the question thus arises as to what porcelain it did actually import at that time, what types were to be found in the assortment, what decorations were in vogue and how far taste and fashion had an influence on them. In this connection it is not only the 'Requirements' that are important, but in order to get an idea of the porcelain actually sent to the Netherlands, one must also have recourse to the porcelain unloading books and settlements. Since these form an almost unbroken series, it is possible to give a survey of the amounts of each kind of porcelain that were imported each year and to subdivide these again according to decoration. The results of this are given here as Appendix 11.

While such a survey does offer many possibilities, it has its limitations as well. For example, it was only possible to cover the porcelain that was shipped direct to the Netherlands and the considerable quantities that were shipped by the Company via Batavia between 1735 and 1746 had to be left out of account owing to the lack of sufficiently detailed information (see, however, Appendix 9 for the profits on this porcelain).

Another point is the way in which the supercargos compiled the settlements and the invoices. One supercargo was sometimes rather more precise than another. Lack of time for getting the papers in order will also have played a role here, but in any case the information for some years is less detailed than that for others. This is particularly so in the period 1736–56, when the China trade came under Batavia, although the resolutions, the lists of porcelain ordered and the daybooks generally offer sufficient supplementary information. In general, however, it can be said that the information acquired is reliable and detailed enough to allow meaningful comparisons to be made over the whole period.

For a number of years no information is

available. The papers of the years 1734, 1741 and 1794 have been lost. In 1735, 1781 and 1782 no porcelain was shipped direct to the Netherlands, while from 1754 to 1756 the supercargos evidently did not consider it necessary to compile unpacking books or to account for their purchases in any other way. Thus these nine years have had to be omitted from the lists in the appendix.

Bearing these limitations in mind, it is possible to use the appendix in numerous ways. First of all, it establishes whether a given type of porcelain was handled by the Dutch East India Company in the 18th century and, if so, in what years and what amounts. A number of types clearly prove to be linked to a certain period, so that it becomes possible to apply a more exact dating to surviving examples.

The records also made it possible to effect a subdivision according to decoration and this too affords better possibilities for dating in a similar way. In answer to the 'Requirements' the supercargos noted how many pieces of each type were sent in blue-and-white, brown, enamel colours, etc. and it appears that some types were shipped in only a few colour schemes, whereas others were purchased in a large number of varieties. In the case of some decorations, the influence of fashion is clearly demonstrable, but over longer periods too the rising or declining popularity of a pattern can indicate the changing taste of the public.

Thanks to the descriptions in the Dutch East India Company documents, it is now also possible to give a better characterization of the different types of porcelain in the 18th-century assortment. The Company mainly concerned itself with ordinary porcelain and in particular with the tableware and drinking vessels for which there was a constant demand<sup>6</sup> and it is interesting to see precisely which kinds formed the basis of the porcelain trade, evidently finding an unlimited market in the Netherlands for many years.

These bulk goods, which are seldom distinguished by any special features, are still to be found in great quantities in museum and private collections, but have often been left out of account in the literature, wrongly so, for not only do they have a social and economic, a cultural and historical interest, but they also constitute an indispensable frame of reference for anyone trying to determine the importance and function of the more exclusive pieces of Chinese export porcelain.

With the appendix as starting-point, a brief characterization will first be given of the decorations applied to the porcelain. Then the types handled by the Dutch East India Company will be discussed in alphabetical order, with all the particulars to be found concerning them in the documents. In the case of a number of types the measurements are given and also indications of their form and appearance. This will help to make it possible to compile a better typology for Chinese export porcelain than has hitherto been available. The drawings belonging to the 'Requirements' of 1758 are a very welcome aid here, of course (see pp. 103 ff.)

The purchase prices of nearly all the types are known for the years 1729–42 and 1757–85, while for a number of years the returns on the sales are also specified. In order to give an idea of the prices of different types in relation to one another and the development of the prices of Chinese export porcelain, the purchase prices are given under each type of the most current varieties per piece, namely of blue-and-white and of enamel colours, the prices quoted being those of the beginning (1730), middle (1760) and end (1785) of the period in which the Dutch East India Company traded with China. Where possible, the proceeds on the sales of the same varieties are also given, while the prices of some exceptional types and decorations are also included.<sup>7</sup>

The 18th-century Dutch names are given both for the types of porcelain and the decoration. They are not only often more detailed than those used today, giving one more to go on in identifying surviving pieces, but it is also more correct from the social history point of view to call 18th-century porcelain by the names used by the people of that time.

It must, however, be emphasized that while the types and their variants mentioned can certainly be more closely related to extant examples, the information from the archives seldom contains indications which enable one to identify a specific piece of porcelain. The porcelain handled by the Dutch East India Company was too much of a bulk commodity for that, after all, apart from a few exceptions like the Pronk porcelain. Even when an identification does appear possible, it must still always be remembered that the same piece could also have been brought back by private individuals or by other Companies.

Only exceptionally will it be possible to date a piece of porcelain absolutely. That is, for example, the case with the porcelain sent from Canton on the *Middelburg* in 1781. This ship, along with the other China ships, was attacked by the English in Saldanha Bay. On the command of its captain, it was set fire to and sank on the spot. In 1971 part of the cargo, including a good 200 pieces of porcelain, was brought up by the Dodds brothers. These pieces were sold in 1972, but unfortunately only a few of them found their way into public collections. The South African Cultural Museum possesses a figure, a number of tea cups, bowls, lids, saucers and a large number of sherds from this find, which can be dated with certainty to 1779–80<sup>8</sup> (Figs. 78–80). Another example constitute the two porcelain fishes in the Zeeuws Museum, which are said to be from the *Woestduijn* who wrecked on the coast of Vlissingen in 1779 (Fig. 81).



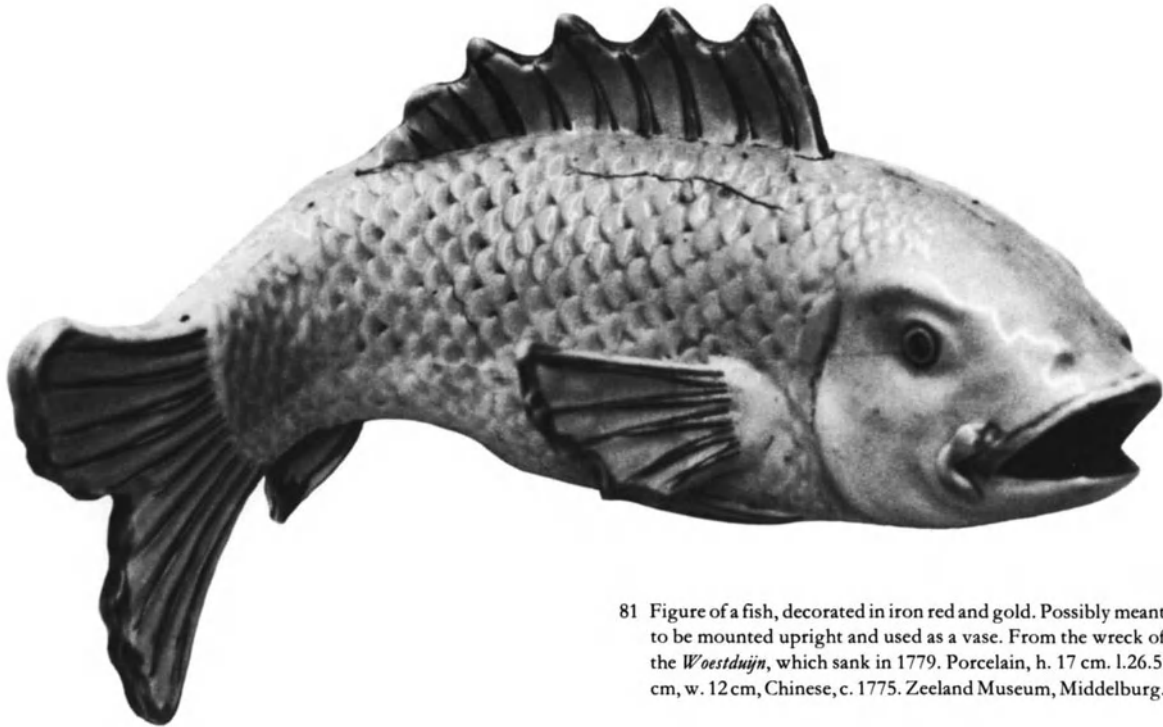
78 Figure of a Chinese, the coat in underglaze blue. From the wreck of the *Middelburg*, which sank in 1781. Porcelain, h. 19 cm, China c. 1780. South African cultural Museum, Cape Town.



79 Tea cup, decorated in underglaze blue. From the wreck of the *Middelburg*, which sank in 1781. Porcelain, diam. 5.7 cm, Chinese, c. 1780. South African Cultural Museum, Cape Town.



80 Tea cup, decorated in underglaze blue. From the wreck of the *Middelburg*, which sank in 1781. Porcelain, h. 3.1 cm. diam. 5.2 cm, Chinese, c. 1780. South African Cultural Museum, Cape Town.



81 Figure of a fish, decorated in iron red and gold. Possibly meant to be mounted upright and used as a vase. From the wreck of the *Woestduijn*, which sank in 1779. Porcelain, h. 17 cm. l.26.5 cm, w. 12 cm, Chinese, c. 1775. Zeeland Museum, Middelburg.

## 2 *The decorations*

The vast bulk of the export porcelain handled by the Dutch East India Company was decorated with Chinese motifs. A small part of it was painted with subjects in the European manner, most of which have already been discussed in Chapter 3 under the 'Requirements'. A number of pieces were also bought in completely white, undecorated, in order to be painted in the Netherlands or elsewhere.

The directors and supercargos distinguished the different variants primarily by their colours and not by the Chinese motifs. In addition use was made of such descriptions as 'with floral work', 'with bouquets', 'with figures' (Chinese figures), 'with landscapes' or 'with birds'. These names were not used consistently, however, and one cannot speak here of a specific interest in a given pattern. There are, though, a few instances where that actually is the case and

they are mentioned in this connection, because they indicate what was regarded at that time as typically Chinese, as strange and exotic.

First of all there is the decoration 'with dragons', which was asked for throughout the whole of the 18th century, particularly on bowls and on tea and coffee cups and saucers. It was done in both blue and enamel colours and although it was scarcely any dearer in price, the Company maintained its exclusiveness by not buying in too much of it, seldom more than a few thousand pieces of each kind. This pattern is included in Appendix 11 under numbers 3 and 16.

Other clearly defined Chinese motifs occur so sporadically that it was not possible to include them as a separate decoration in the appendix and they are only mentioned in this chapter. An interesting reference is that of 1764 to the shipment of 3,000 slop bowls 'with dragons and with Chinese characters on and under the base'

in response to the 'Requirements' of 1763. It is generally taken that there was no interest in the 18th century for painting with Chinese characters or marks and that if they did occur in a cargo, that was merely by chance. But the opposite now proves to be the case: there actually was an interest in them and they were even specially ordered. The coolers ordered in 1765 were also required to have 'a mark' on the base, but these were not bought in, because they were too expensive.

The pattern 'with the fools' (the Dutch name for a decoration with small boys playing), ordered in conformity with the 'Requirements' of 1777, occurs on 44,619 octagonal tea cups and saucers, shipped in 1778, and on bowls and coffee cups and saucers in 1779. This popular motif is not mentioned in other years and the many examples that still survive in collections will have reached Europe via other Companies or private trade. 'The water flower', probably a lotus motif, an equally popular design, only crops up in 1787 on eight blue-and-white dinner services of 220 pieces, asked for in the 'Requirements' of 1785. A pattern which will have been regarded in Europe as typically Chinese, but which is in fact a Chinoiserie applied by Chinese painters, was called 'with the pagoda' by the supercargos and appears as late as in 1793 on in all 1260 blue-and-white soup and dinner plates. 'The sunflower' was asked for in the 'Requirements' of 1777 and two years later 386 double plates and 1,875 flat plates were supplied in that pattern. Also in 1779 were sent 1,037 slop bowls 'with the peacock' in enamel colours, a motif that is not mentioned in the 'Requirements'.

The pattern 'with the flowerpot', which is by no means rare in collections, is mentioned in 1785 on plates and salad dishes for services and on the same types again in the settlement of 1793, but not otherwise. The pattern 'with the pineapple' only occurs in 1769 and that on 984 flat plates and 399 soup plates.

The 'Comments on Porcelains' from the cargo of the *Christoffel Columbus* is curious in that it shows that in 1789 fish dishes 'with the Crow's Nest or the Cuckoo' and flat and soup plates 'with the Haystack' were sent, decorations which are not mentioned in the settlement and other documents of that year<sup>9</sup> and which do not occur in other years either. The 'Cuckoo in the house' is a well-known design on porcelain which can be dated c. 1770–90 (Fig. 82) and it is surprising to find it ordered only in 1789. What is meant by the 'Haystack' is not clear yet.

Despite the general lack of detail in their descriptions, the directors nonetheless had a clear idea of what the porcelain with Chinese painting ought to look like. In the draft 'Requirements' of 1756 one reads: 'It may further serve as an instruction that the porcelains which are brought from China nowadays are generally too meagre and miserable in drawing... the coloured porcelains drawn with landscapes are also too spare, these are also more sought after with full drawing of floral work and must also be rich in gold'.<sup>10</sup>



82 Plate, decorated in underglaze blue with 'the cuckoo in the house'. Porcelain, diam. 23 cm, Chinese, c. 1770–90. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

Nor do these comments stand alone. It had already repeatedly been said several years before then that the decorations must be 'full of work', *i.e.* that the painting must cover most of the surface. Other comments of those years, to the effect that the blue-and-white porcelain must be 'old-fashioned', 'after the old manner', or even 'after the old porcelain', indicate that the Dutch clung to that with which they had long been familiar. They appear to have set little store by decorations in the Chinese style which had become somewhat lighter under the influence of, for example, Meissen and Sèvres, endeavouring in this way to keep up with European taste. A case could be made out on the basis of these references that certain outmoded patterns still continued to be applied to porcelain for the Dutch market for a long period. Thus a later dating, up to around 1760, would also have to be considered for much blue-and-white porcelain which has hitherto been dated as late K'ang Hsi on stylistic grounds.<sup>11</sup> A good example of this is to be found in the 'Requirements' for 1756, in which a request is made for porcelain 'with Chinese figure work, either hunts or other subjects in which there is much

movement' and 'fine painting of Chinese peasants hunting in the countryside or in similar activities'.<sup>12</sup> The subject mentioned here is easily recognizable as that known in Dutch as '*Joosje te paard*', which is very common on porcelain of the early 18th century, often marked K'ang Hsi. There was evidently a big demand in the Netherlands for this pattern – and undoubtedly also for other 'old-fashioned' decorations – and that the Chinese also met this demand is clear from a service in the Frans Hals Museum at Haarlem, to be dated c. 1750–60, on which the 'Joss on horseback' is depicted *in extenso* (fig. 83).

In the 1760's, however, the Dutch too seem to have conformed to the European mode, for 'old-fashioned work' was no longer asked for then and the proportion of blue-and-white ware also showed a clear decline (compare, for example, in Appendix 11 the blue-and-white tea cups and saucers with those of other colours for those years).

But if the directors made little distinction between the subjects on porcelain with Chinese decoration, they looked all the more at the colour. A number of colour schemes were dis-



83 Tureen with stand, decorated in underglaze blue with 'Joss on horseback'. Porcelain, h. 19.5 cm, diam. 29.5 cm; stand, diam. 27.3 cm. China, c. 1750–60. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.

tinguished and within them again a number of variants, these being based on the colour of the outside. By this means a surprisingly lucid system of naming was arrived at, which also made it possible for the supercargos to send what had been asked for.

The most important groups of decorations will now be discussed systematically according to colour and technique. The Dutch names as used by the supercargos are given in brackets. *Blue-and-white* (*Blaauw-wit*). This decoration was applied under the glaze and in the 18th century as well as the 17th it constituted a very large proportion of the export porcelain. Initially the Dutch East India Company displayed a great preference for blue-and-white, but this led it into difficulties when an increasing number of kinds came to be obtainable only in enamel colours and blue-and-white had to be specially ordered in Ch'ing-tê Chên, which was expensive. Thus around 1760 the blue-and-white was ousted from first place by porcelain in other colour schemes.

Blue-and-white lends itself handsomely to combination with gold and one thus repeatedly finds in the 'Requirements' that the rather dearer types must be 'full of gold' or 'with gold rim'. It is not clear whether this gold was also applied in Ch'ing-tê Chên or in Canton.

If it could be supplied from stock, blue-and-white porcelain nearly always belonged among the cheapest that could be obtained. An exception must, however, be made for the 'extra fine blue-and-white' sometimes used for services and plates. This porcelain, which was evidently of a very high quality with carefully executed decorations, can perhaps be equated with that now known as 'soft paste' porcelain. It actually cost twice as much as the ordinary blue-and-white and it also fetched a good price at the sales in the Netherlands.

*Chinese Imari* (*Chinees Japans*). This is likewise an underglaze painting, characterized by the use of the colours iron-red and blue, often heigh-

tened with overglaze gold. It is known as Chinese Imari now because, as the name already indicates, it represents an attempt to imitate the more expensive Japanese porcelain, which was no longer shipped to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company after 1682. D. S. Howard has shown that armorial porcelain with decoration in Chinese Imari was already in use around 1705<sup>13</sup> The name '*Chinees Japans*' appears in the archives for the first time in 1730, when the supercargos shipped five tea services with this decoration, but other names were used as well, such as 'Red, blue and gold'. The term 'coloured and gold' also meant Chinese Imari, as is clear from a letter of 1734 from the *Heeren XVII* to the supercargos: '... the work shall be not only in blue as is said, but also coloured in the second manner, that is enamelled and smooth under a plain glaze, as the coloured Japanese porcelain shows, because the enamelled work certainly looks handsome, but it has the fault that it is undoubtedly inclined to come off, whereas the plain or smooth coloured like the Japanese work has no such problem...' <sup>14</sup> This is also confirmed by the 'Requirements' of 1759: the kinds there called 'coloured and gold' are referred to in the settlement as '*Chinees Japans*'. In 1760 were shipped over and above the 'Requirements' 12,400 coffee cups and saucers and 48 tea services which were 'Japanese imitation' and which cost nearly twice as much as the ordinary Chinese Imari cups and services. Porcelain with this kind of painting seems not to have been shipped any more after that. It was probably a close imitation of Imari or Kakiemon ware.

In general Chinese Imari porcelain cost about twice as much as the ordinary blue-and-white, but, to judge from the sale catalogues and the lists of returns, that difference was not always expressed in higher proceeds at the sales. This was probably the reason why it was bought in somewhat more sparingly than blue-and-white in general, but it remained in use for many kinds

of porcelain throughout the 18th century.<sup>15</sup> *Brown (Bruin)* This colour, too, was applied under the glaze. In the literature it is sometimes called 'Capuchin ware', 'café au lait' or 'Batavian ware', since it is wrongly assumed that it was transported to the Netherlands only via Batavia. This colour enjoyed a pronounced vogue for some types, but is not found at all in others. It was particularly popular for tea and coffee cups and saucers, for Moorish cups and (slop) bowls without saucers, but, curiously enough, it is seldom or never found on chocolate cups and saucers, (slop) bowls with saucers, punchbowls, coffee pots, sugar bowls and tea pots and brown tea services were never shipped either. In other kinds of porcelain brown is completely lacking.

The porcelain that is brown on the outside comes in a great many varieties. Apart from the plain brown there is also brown with so-called 'shields' or 'fields', cartouches in which a design was painted in blue-and-white, Chinese Imari or enamel colours. A very special variant of this is 'brown with orange shields', also known as 'with oranges', which was first asked for in 1767 and continued to be bought into the 1780's. This variant, which may relate to a design with pomegranates or peaches in the cartouches, is included in the appendix under number 25.

Not included in the appendix is a light brown variety referred to in the records as 'chamois leather coloured' or, in the literature as 'Nanking yellow', which is mentioned only very rarely. In the 'Requirements' of 1752, 50 tea pots and the same number of milk jugs and sugar bowls, 20 tea services, 500 slop bowls and 2,000 Moorish cups were asked of in 'chamois colour with blue and white fields'. In the subsequent settlement of 1753 there is no mention of such porcelain, but they may have been covered by the term 'brown with blue shields'. In 1765, 438 'light brown' punchbowls of 8 *duim* were shipped, but this variety does not occur again in later years.

In addition a distinction was made according to the colour of the inside, which could be painted in blue-and-white, Chinese Imari or enamel colours.

A decoration of flowers and birds that is literally cut out of the plain brown glaze, so that the white ground has become visible, was always applied in Europe.<sup>16</sup>

The purchase price of brown porcelain was no higher than that of blue-and-white. Often it was even cheaper and it brought in about the same amount in the Netherlands.

*Enamelled (Geëmailleerd)* It is not easy to establish precisely what the supercargos meant by 'geamalleerd'. A number of variants which would now be counted as enamelled because of their technique, such as 'white', 'black', 'purple' or 'yellow', were listed separately by them on the basis of the predominant colour of the outside and this distinction will also be followed here.

'Geëmailleerd' as recognized as a colour group in the 18th century seems mostly to be characterized as a decoration in enamel colours, executed as a colourful whole with combinations of red, blue, green, pink, yellow and gold. These colours were generally muffled at a low temperature in Canton or Ch'ing-tê Chên, but there also existed inferior imitations, which were only painted with enamel paint and not fired (see p. 127). Enamelled porcelain cost a quarter to a half as much again as blue-and-white and the same relationship is also to be found in the sale prices.

In the appendix 'enamelled with dragons' is included separately, 'white with dragons' also being covered by the same number. Some of the decorative patterns in enamel colours, which are mentioned separately by the supercargos, occur so seldom that they are not mentioned in the appendix. One example is 'enamelled and marbled', probably a painting in colours running into each other, the so-called 'egg and spinach' or 'tiger skin' type, with which six



dinner services and 175 fruit dishes were decorated in 1765. It may further be noted that in the following year six dinner services 'with marbled rims' were likewise sold in Middelburg by private individuals,<sup>17</sup> which indicates a (shortlived?) vogue for this decoration.

'Green ground and enamelled fields' was asked for in the 'Requirements' of 1778. In 1780 1,332 half-pint bowls without saucers and 510 half-pint bowls with saucers, 1,030 double coffee cups and saucers, 2,034 single coffee cups and saucers and 2,520 tea cups and saucers were supplied with this decoration.

The same 'Requirements' also mention 'red with enamelled fields', which was applied to 63 cupboard garnitures (and later, in 1784, to 43 cupboard garnitures, evidently representing the balance of this payment), 560 small tea cups and saucers, 4,190 ordinary tea cups and saucers, 2,276 single coffee cups and saucers and 1,100 double coffee cups and saucers, which were likewise shipped to the Netherlands in 1780.

Both types of decoration had to be ordered and because the dealers suffered a loss on such ware 'which went out of use years ago', they refused to order any more after that. Of this green and red porcelain only the 43 cupboard garnitures of 1784 ever reached the Netherlands, because the ships carrying it fell into the hands of the English in 1781 (see p. 39).

The currently favoured subdivision of porcelain decorated in enamel colours into *familles*, which was introduced by Jacquemart and Le Blant in 1862,<sup>18</sup> has few points of contact with the terms used by the supercargos. Pink was never mentioned by them as a separate type and from what has been said above it is clear that this was only very rarely the case with green. More relationship exists between what was called 'black enamelled' and 'yellow' and *famille noire* and *famille jaune*. In addition, the supercargos also had separate categories for 'blue

enamelled', 'white' and 'purple' for which no comparable *familles* can be cited. Porcelain decorated in 'black art' (*zwarte kunst*), however, is also accorded a separate place today as *encre de Chine*.

All these types are included in the appendix, to which the following particulars can be added: *Yellow enamelled* (*Geel geëmailleerd*). Porcelain of this colour is referred to in the archives in various ways and in such a manner as to strike the modern researcher as highly improbable and confusing. The documents of 1767 and 1768 occupy a key position here, for the list of porcelain ordered in 1767 mentions yellow tea and coffee cups and saucers and the same porcelain is called 'grey' in the settlement and the 'Memorandum of patterns' of 1768, when it was delivered. The term 'grey' also occurs in the years before and after and it is evidently to be equated with yellow, to judge from similar references. Grey is, however, again the same as 'olive', as is incontrovertibly clear from the unpacking books of 1758 and 1759. Thus in the lists in Appendix 11, both 'grey' and 'olive' are included under number 17, yellow.

Yellow was asked for by the Dutch East India Company almost exclusively for tea and coffee cups and saucers which might or might not be decorated with another colour on the inside. It is also found occasionally in connection with chocolate cups and saucers, while the yellow salt cellars of 1758 and soup cups of 1759 must be considered exceptional.

*Black enamelled* (*Zwart geëmailleerd*). The black also present problems sometimes, since it is not always clearly distinguished from 'black art' by the supercargos. As a rule all that is called 'black', 'black enamelled' and 'with black ground' is included in the black enamelled category. It was only used for cupboard garnitures and tea services and never on other types or on separate parts of tea services, with the exception of 380 tea cups and saucers in 1758. That black found no favour with the Dutch public

also emerges from a 'Memorandum on the Porcelains': '... above all to send no black tea services, because the prices are running very low here and have become still lower...'.<sup>19</sup> This probably also had something to do with the quality of such services, for 100 tea services 'black enamelled with a crown', which were requested in 1764, were refused even by the supercargos because they had turned out so badly. However, it is at all events established beyond question that *famille noire* was shipped to Europe in the 18th century and that large pieces like cupboard garnitures were also decorated in this manner. This disposes of J. A. Pope's hypothesis that *famille noire* cannot be dated with certainty before 1800.<sup>20</sup>

*Blue enamelled (Blauw geëmailleerd)*. This colour, often also called 'dark blue' or 'royal blue' in the records, was a decoration used on cupboard garnitures, Moorish cups, ornamental bottles and dinner sets for preference. It was also used for punchbowls and chocolate cups and saucers, but only incidentally or not at all on other kinds of porcelain. It can probably be equated with what is nowadays called 'powder blue'.

*Purple enamelled (Purper geëmailleerd)*. Also included under this heading are 'white with purple' and 'with purple flowers'. From the 'Requirements' and settlements it is clear that this term means a purple flower pattern applied to a white ground. It is first mentioned in the settlement of 1764 in connection with milk jugs and chocolate cups and saucers, but it enjoyed its greatest popularity in the 1770's, when quite a large number of types painted in purple were ordered more or less regularly. The fashion evidently changed quickly, for after 1784 this pattern was no longer asked for, but at the beginning of the 1790's there was a revival of interest in it. At that time it mainly occurred on tea, coffee and chocolate cups and saucers.

*White enamelled (Wit geëmailleerd)*. This is characterized by a white glazed background with decorations sparingly painted in enamel

colours, generally of flowers or bouquets. Rich use is made of gold, the decoration sometimes being applied entirely in gold enamel, while white simply with gold rims also occurs.

Quite exceptional objects were the 811 half-pint slop bowls with saucers, which are listed in the 1763 settlement as 'white with white dragons'. The motifs will have been applied in white enamels on the white glaze, the method now known as '*blanc sur blanc*'.

A variant within the white enamelled category is the decoration 'white with Marseille pattern', which is included separately in the appendix as no. 22. This is often described in more detail in the 'Requirements' and one or two broad bands of blue on the inside and a small 'rose' on the bottom are characteristic. The name is probably derived from a French textile pattern and may stand for a decoration with scattered flowers of a Western type. It is already mentioned early on, namely in 1734 on six dinner sets, but the greatest demand for it was in the 1760's and 1770's. After 1780 it is scarcely mentioned any more. It was much used for coffee and chocolate cups and saucers, but, curiously, not for tea cups and saucers or tea services. It also crops up regularly on dinner and soup plates, on (slop) bowls and on serving dishes, but again not on dinner services, with the exception of those of 1734. The purchase price was about the same as that of ordinary enamelled ware.

*'Black art' (zwarte kunst)*. This decorative technique, now called *encre de Chine*, probably originated around 1730. Because of its linear character it was pre-eminently suited to *Chine de Commande*, because engravings and drawings could successfully be copied in it. Not until 1750, however, did the directors ask for something of that sort on tea and coffee cups and saucers, to be done according to a drawing sent by them and described in the 'Requirements' as 'painting in black art' and 'with black Chinese figures'.<sup>21</sup> Drinking vessels of this type were

supplied in 1753, but for these and other kinds of porcelain it was a decoration that was only used incidentally. Most pieces occur in 1779, 1780 and 1783, following the 'Requirements' of 1778, in which 'black art' was requested for a large number of kinds. 'The crucifixion of Christ' and 'Neptune' are mentioned there as specific subjects. The cargos only met this request to a limited extent, mainly because this kind of decoration had to be ordered and was rather expensive. The dealers asked around 25 cents for the painting of a single chocolate cup and saucer, even in the cheaper off-season!

Only on tea and coffee services was this expensive decoration profitable for the Dutch East India Company, for they certainly were shipped regularly, mostly with a pattern of flowers and/or Chinese figures to judge from the descriptions. A comment that characterizes the exclusive character of 'black art' is that in the settlement of 1772 to the effect that such services 'are not for the use of the common man'.

In the lists in the appendix places have also been provided for, in addition to the Marseille pattern mentioned above, decorations in Western style, 'with the cherry picker' and 'with the basket of fruit', sent in response to the 'Requirements' of 1777 and 1778, although the price was a hindrance to the widespread application that the China Committee had in mind at that time.

Finally the '*completely white*' (*geheel wit*) is also included as a separate category. Tea services and their component parts in particular were considered suitable objects for the application of decoration in the Netherlands, as were all sorts of drinking vessels. White (slop) bowls and punchbowls were shipped by the Dutch East India Company much less often, and it is thus remarkable that a great deal of the *Amsterdams Bont* (porcelain overpainted in the Netherlands) should consist precisely of bowls. The bulk of these will thus have been imported as private merchandise.

### 3 *The types of porcelain*

All the types handled by the Dutch East India Company in the 18th century are described below in alphabetical order. The Dutch names used for them by the supercargos are given in brackets. The amounts shipped and their subdivision according to the various decorations are given in Appendix 11. It must be emphasized that facts that are already generally known are not gone into in detail, but, on the other hand, the particulars from 'Requirements', settlements, reports and other documents are included as far as possible. This new information can help towards a better characterization of the various types and the identification of existing pieces.<sup>22</sup> In the documents all measurements are given in Amsterdam *duims*. These have been converted into centimetres here, except in quotations. One *duim* equals 2.57 cm.

*Beer tankards* (*Bierkannen*), also called *Engelse bierkannen* (English tankards), *Snellen* or *Mugs*. These always have a handle with a hole in it, since the lids were set on in Europe. Tankards came in various sizes. The smallest held half a pint (0.6 litres), the largest two pints, but the one-pint tankard was the most common. Nothing is said about the form, but round-bellied examples were probably bought in as well as the cylindrical form which tapers slightly towards the rim.

In 1761 a set of three blue-and-white tankards cost 70 cents, of tankards in enamel colours fl. 1.05. By 1770 those prices had already gone up to fl. 1.80 and fl. 2.45 respectively. Proceeds on sales are not known.

*Bottles* (*Flessen*) These came in various shapes and sizes. In the 'Requirements' of 1736 small bottles from 9 to 15.5 cm high were already asked for, but were not supplied. According to the 'Requirements' of 1756, bottles 'for flowers' were used as flower vases. Unfortunately the settlement of these 'Requirements' is unknown. The bottles of 1761, 1764, 1765 and 1766 all had

two handles, were 41 to 43.5 cm high and enamelled dark blue, 'painted all over with gold and gold figures'. They were expensive for that period at fl. 3.60 each, while the bottles of 1764, which were hexagonal, even cost as much as fl. 4.85.

The bottles of 1767 and 1770 were totally different from the above-mentioned examples. They are called 'small bottles' and they cost only 3 to 6 cents apiece. It was stipulated in 1770 that these were to be bought only in blue-and-white, so they were probably ornamental bottles for brackets, doll's houses and suchlike.<sup>23</sup>

The term 'vase' is used in the documents exclusively for the vases that formed part of cupboard garnitures.

*Bowls (Kommen)*. The various kinds of bowls occupied an exceptionally important place in the Company's assortment and may be regarded as one of the pillars of the porcelain trade.

The terminology presents some problems since the records make mention of both bowls and slop bowls (*spoelkommen*) and the supercargos often make no distinction between them. They may, for example, note in the settlement that 'bowls' have been bought in, whereas they are referred to as 'slop bowls' in the 'Requirements' and *vice versa*. Thus in Appendix 11 bowls and slop bowls are included under the same heading, namely Bowls. The differences which may perhaps have existed – slop bowls were used for rinsing the cups at tea drinking – must have been so slight that they were already not sufficiently important in the 18th century for those directly concerned to make a clear and consistent difference between them.

A general characteristic of bowls is the somewhat curved profile that flares outwards at the rim and thus shows more or less of an S-curve. This distinguishes them from the 'punch-bowls', which had a plain, straight profile and are included separately in the appendix.

Bowls were subdivided according to size, while it also made a great difference whether

they had a saucer or stand or not. The largest were double bowls (*dubbele kommen*), also known as *2-pints kommen* or *grote* (large) bowls. As is obvious from the name, these could hold two pints or '1 *mengel* of liquid' (1.2 litres). The diameter of these bowls varied from 15.5 to 18 cm, while in 1785 'large bowls of 18 to 20.5 cm' were asked for. Double bowls never had saucers.

The single bowls, *enkele kommen*, *ordinaire kommen* or *pintskommen* constituted the standard size with which the other kinds were compared. They held a pint and had a diameter of 14 to 15.5 cm. They came both with and without saucers. It is notable that certain decorations, such as with dragons or the variants with underglaze brown, occur on bowls without saucers, while they are virtually completely absent from those with saucers. Bowls with saucers cost about twice as much in Canton as those without.

The half-pint bowls, *halve kommen* or *halve pintskommen*, also came with or without saucers. They had a diameter of 11.5 to 13 cm and, remarkably enough, the decoration with dragons now occurs more often on the bowls with saucers than on those without. Among them are to be found some rare variants, for example 811 examples in 'white with white dragons' in 1762 and 7,475 examples painted 'blue-and-white with dragons and characters underneath' in 1764. Here too bowls with saucers cost nearly twice as much as those without, a difference expressed in roughly the same proportions at the sales in the Netherlands.

Finally, small quarterpint bowls, *kleine kommetjes* or *kwart kommen*, were also bought in sometimes. This type never has a saucer and the first mention of it is not found until 1769. These small bowls were 5 cm high and 9 cm in diameter. After a period in which none were sent, they were again asked for by the China Committee in 1777, because the Swedes and Danes had already had them in their assortments for years and had evidently scored a suc-

cess with them. The supercargos knew nothing about this and wrote, 'this kind has not been asked for for years and as far as we know it has not been packed by anyone other than us, for which reason we have not been able to lay our hands on any... and they have been ordered'.<sup>24</sup>

There was a large and constant demand for bowls throughout the 18th century and it only fluctuated somewhat as regards decoration. In general the Dutch East India Company made a good 100% profit on the various kinds.

The prices paid for single bowls without saucers may serve as a guideline for the other types. In 1733 a blue-and-white bowl cost 6 cents, one in enamel colours 30 cents and one in Chinese Imari 35 cents. At the Amsterdam sale of 1757 blue-and-white bowls fetched 12 cents apiece, a set of three in enamel colours fl. 190. In 1763 the purchase prices were 9, 12 and 14 cents respectively, in 1785 11, 13 and 14 cents respectively. At the Zeeland sale of 1764 the bowls of 1763 fetched 40, 55 and 59 cents apiece respectively. The more expensive variants brought in much less proportionally.

*Butter dishes (Botervlootjes)*. Also included under this heading are *boterpotten*, butter pots, since the two terms are not used consistently in the archives. Up to 1745 mention is made only of 'butter pots with lids and stands', but in the 'Requirements' of that year the term 'butter dish with cover and stand' is introduced for the first time without any further explanation. Butter dishes are mentioned in the settlement of 1753, but the same pieces are listed in the unpacking books as 'butter pots'. In 1758 and 1760 too mention is made of 'oval butter pots', when it is clearly oval butter dishes that are meant. From 1768 onwards, however, only the term butter dishes is used.

A second complication is that in addition to butter pots, 'butter or sugar pots' repeatedly crop up in the records as a separate item. Since these are equated with 'sugar pots' in the settlement and unloading books of 1736, the sugar

pot function must have been the primary one and they are thus included in the appendix under the sugar bowls.

In the 'Requirements' of 1765 there is a request for butter dishes 'with hoops on the outside', this indicating the desired form of the two raised lips on either side,<sup>25</sup> a shape frequently met with in Dutch Delftware, which probably served as a model. In 1769 an English butter dish was sent as a model. Oval butter dishes were somewhat less often bought in in general, although they hardly cost any more than the round ones. They were 10 to 11.5 cm in length. After 1789 no more butter dishes were sent, because they were said to be too expensive.

In 1738 blue-and-white butter pots cost 42 cents and fetched fl. 1.40 apiece in Amsterdam. In 1760 the price of a butter pot had dropped to 22 cents, while it fetched 76 cents at the Zeeland sale in 1761. In 1784 a round blue-and-white butter dish cost 49 cents, in 1785 an oval one 52 cents.

*Butter saucers (Boterschoteltes)*. From the 'Requirements' of 1757 and the settlements of 1758 and 1759 it appears that these were also used for preserves. The dimensions given vary from 16 to 18 cm in diameter, while a distinction was made between flat and deep examples. Butter saucers sometimes formed part of dinner services, but there was evidently more demand for them as separate items. As far as their form is concerned, they will scarcely have differed from ordinary small dishes.

Blue-and-white 'flat' butter saucers cost 10 cents apiece in 1737 and 7 cents in 1760, while those in enamel colours could be bought for 9 cents then. At the sale of 1761 they fetched 15 and 19 cents respectively. In 1785 blue-and-white butter saucers cost 14 cents apiece. The purchase and sale prices for deep butter saucers were a few cents higher.

*Candlesticks (Kandelaars)* Although these were repeatedly shipped as part of large dinner services, there was evidently scarcely any demand

for them as separate items, for they were only very rarely bought in by the supercargos. Purchase prices are unknown, but at the Amsterdam sale of 1737 they fetched fl. 1.28 apiece.

*Caudle cups and saucers (Kandeelgoed)* Whenever one paid a visit to a woman in childbed in the 18th century, it was a typical old Dutch custom that one was offered caudle to drink.<sup>26</sup> Thus caudle cups and saucers were a kind of porcelain exclusively handled by the Dutch East India Company and intended for the Dutch market. Caudle cups came with lids (1761, 1763) as well as without. The form was that of a large cup with a handle, as is clear from the drawing belonging to the 'Requirements' of 1758 (see fig. 47, no. 21).

As was only fitting in view of their exclusive use, caudle cups and saucers were of good quality porcelain, finely painted and, since they had to be specially made at Ch'ing-tê Chên, rather expensive. In 1759 a cup and saucer cost 13 cents, but by 1761 the cost of a 'fine blue-and-white' cup and saucer had already gone up to fl. 0.36! The Chinese Imari examples sold in Middelburg in 1764 fetched 70 cents apiece, as against a purchase price of 25 cents. Despite the good profit, caudle cups and saucers ceased to be shipped after 1767, probably because those in Dutch porcelain were considered more fashionable.

*Chamberpots (Po's)*. The round pots were also called *kamerpotten* or *pispotten*, the oval women's pots, *vrouwenpotten*, *begijnepotten* or *vrouwekannetjes*. Both types were sometimes supplied with lids.

Round chamberpots occur incidentally up to 1771, mostly in blue-and-white. They cost 21 cents apiece in 1731, 50 cents in 1768. At the Amsterdam sale of 1737 they fetched fl. 1.60 apiece.

Oval chamberpots were only handled during the first period of direct trade. The purchase price of the blue-and-white examples averaged

70 cents at that time, of the coloured 90 cents. Nowadays they are mostly called by their French name *Bourdalone*.

*Chocolate cups and saucers (Chocoladegoed)*. There exist two types, distinguished as such in Appendix 11, those with and those without a handle. In general chocolate cups with handles were slightly more expensive and after 1757 they were more in vogue than those without handles. Chocolate cups with handles were always used as part of the large tea services and occasionally also cups with two handles, one on either side.<sup>27</sup> Chocolate cups with lids do not often occur: in 1761 858 were sent, after 1779 a few hundred every now and then. Cups on their own without saucers are also mentioned and in the 'Requirements' of 1760 it is emphasized that these must be 'of thick ware'.

The 'Requirements' of 1761 provide information about the form: 'the cups must be straight with no overhanging rims', 'the cup narrower inside'. A diameter and height of 7 cm are given as measurements for the cup, but slightly different measurements also occur. However, the height is always the same as the diameter. In the drawings that were sent with the 'Requirements' of 1758 four different models with handles are shown under no. 10 (fig. 46).

In 1729 blue-and-white chocolate cups and saucers without handles cost 10 cents apiece and fetched 38 cents in Amsterdam. In 1760 chocolate cups and saucers with and without handles in blue-and-white cost 14 cents, in enamel colours 21 cents and in Chinese Imari 18 cents. At the Zeeland sale in 1761 they fetched 40, 52, and 55 cents respectively. In 1784 the purchase price of both types was 17 cents for blue-and-white, 20 cents for enamel colours and 27 cents for Chinese Imari. Chocolate cups with lids and saucers in enamel colours cost 24 cents apiece in 1761.

*Chocolate pots (Chocoladekannetjes)*. In view of the low prices – 7 cents apiece in 1766 – these

chocolate pots with handles will not have been much bigger than the chocolate cups, which were more expensive. They probably held enough to fill a single cup, but in any case they were not large chocolate pots, since those were never handled by the Dutch East India Company. Nor are those ever mentioned as part of tea, coffee and chocolate services.

*Coffee cups and saucers (Koffiegoed)*. Coffee cups and saucers constituted one of the most important and profitable kinds of porcelain handled by the Dutch East India Company and may be regarded as a basic part of the assortment. They were divided into double coffee cups and saucers (*Dubbel koffiegoed*) or large Dutch coffee cups and saucers (*Groot Hollands koffiegoed*) and the ordinary single Dutch coffee cups and saucers (*Enkel Hollands koffiegoed*).

Coffee cups and saucers were shipped to the Netherlands in gigantic amounts, there evidently being no problem as regards selling them. Such quantities also offered scope for the rather less profitable patterns and there is thus a very great variety in the decoration.

In the case of both double and single types, the cup without a handle, traditionally used in China for the drinking of tea and wine, was the most common. Not until after 1760 did cups with handles – more subject to breakage in transit! – also occur. They were evidently ordered on the model of similar cups in European porcelain which were in vogue then.

In 1778 coffee cups with lids were asked for in the 'Requirements', but the supercargos probably found the costs too high, for one nowhere reads that they were actually sent (for this see also under tea cups and saucers). In 1756 a request was put in for coffee cups of 'French fashion', by which was meant a handleless type characterized by a small base and rather widely flaring straight sides. Despite the prevailing fashion of the day, the directors already wrote in 1760: 'No more French fashion, but all with round bases to prevent breakage', not a very

convincing argument, since 'French fashion' was in fact requested for tea cups that same year. In the drawing that accompanied the 'Requirements' of 1758 can be seen the form that double Dutch coffee cups were intended to have (Fig. 47) and single ones will have differed from them only in size. In the 'Requirements' a height of 6.5 cm and a diameter of 7.5 cm are given as the measurements for single coffee cups. Double coffee cups will have been somewhat larger, *i.e.* approximately 7.5 cm in height with a diameter of 9 to 9.5 cm.

Single coffee cups and saucers were equated with large tea cups and saucers. In 1729 they were 'scarce and only just obtainable', which indicates that the Chinese dealers did not have sufficient stocks to meet the sudden increase in the demand at that time. In 1731 too the supercargos complained that blue-and-white coffee cups and saucers were difficult to obtain in Canton, but after that time the buying-in seems to have presented no more problems.

There are a number of unusual decorations which it was not possible to include in Appendix 11. In 1760 the Chinese Imari coffee cups and saucers sent included 12,400 that were 'Japanese imitation' and that cost 25 cents apiece, over twice as much as the ordinary Chinese Imari. At the Zeeland sale they fetched 46 cents as against 26 cents for Chinese Imari examples. Despite the good profit, this decoration, probably a very careful imitation of Imari or Kakiemon, is not mentioned in other years.

In 1764 were shipped 1,633 double coffee cups and saucers 'enamelled with green dragons', 2,197 'sea green with white shields', 1,020 'yellowish green with shields' and 1,520 'red with white shields'. In 1769 too mention is made of 1,900 double coffee cups and saucers 'red with golden Chinese shields', while in that same year were bought in 5,075 blue-and-white cups and saucers 'with red and gold stars'. In 1780 were sent 1,100 double coffee cups and

saucers 'red ground with enamelled fields' and 1,030 'green ground with enamelled fields'. Mention must also be made of 2,730 cups and saucers of 1770 'with the sunflower'.

The prices that had to be paid in Canton for coffee cups and saucers were not high. In 1732 single coffee cups and saucers cost 9 cents apiece for blue-and-white and 16 cents for enamel colours. At the Amsterdam sale of 1735 'various coffee cups and saucers' fetched 31 cents apiece on average. In 1760 the purchase price of blue-and-white single coffee cups and saucers was 8 cents apiece, of brown 5 cents, of enamel colours 10 cents and of Chinese Imari 12 cents. In 1785 the prices were 10, 6, 12 and 14 cents respectively. Throughout the whole period the purchase price of double coffee cups and saucers was around 50% higher than that of single. At the Zeeland sale of 1761 the above-mentioned blue-and-white coffee cups and saucers of 1760 fetched 20 cents apiece, the brown 22 cents, the enamel colours 28 cents and the Chinese Imari 26 cents. The proceeds on the sales of double coffee cups and saucers faithfully mirror the difference in purchase prices, being about 50% higher. Coffee cups with handles cost nearly twice as much as those without and also fetched about twice as much. *Coffeehouse cups and saucers.* This porcelain was, as is already clear from its name, meant for use in coffeehouses.<sup>28</sup> It had no handles and was required to be 'of very thick porcelain', in order to prolong its inevitably limited life a little. It is in this light too that one must see the requirement that coffeehouse cups and saucers must at all costs not be ribbed, for that type was very subject to breakage both in transit and in intensive daily use.

Since porcelain was taxed by the Chinese customs on export according to its weight, the heavy coffeehouse cups and saucers worked out rather expensive for the Dutch East India Company and because of this the profits will have been minimal, for why should a cof-

feehouse keeper pay more for them than for the ordinary, more elegant cups and saucers, even though the latter did break more quickly. At all events, the introduction of coffeehouse ware in 1752 was not a success and it was shipped for the last time in 1758. That shipment included 12,480 'rice cups', which had to serve as a replacement for the brown coffeehouse cups that had been asked for, since the latter could not be supplied from stock in Canton at that point. These rice cups cost only 3 cents apiece, whereas coffeehouse cups in enamel colours generally cost 14 cents. An exceptional type were the yellow enamelled examples, which were blue-and-white inside and cost 21 cents. Coffeehouse cups and saucers are also shown on the drawings of 1758 (Fig. 47). A striking feature there is the deep saucer (also used for drinking from), something that was rejected out of hand in the case of ordinary tea and coffee cups and saucers at that time.

*Coffee pots.* Besides being indispensable parts of tea and coffee services, coffee pots were also regularly bought separately. The quantities concerned were not large, a few hundred a year at the most, but the market for them was evidently subject to little fluctuation. The variety of decoration is small for an article which, among other things, had to serve to replace broken examples and thus keep sets complete.

The pot with the tapering cylindrical body appears to be the earliest form<sup>29</sup> and one also finds it in the 'Requirements' of the early period. According to the 'Requirements' of 1752 there were coffee pots that held three and four pints (an Amsterdam pint is 0.6 of a litre). This difference in size is also evident in other 'Requirements', where a distinction is made between pots with lids 20,5 cm in height and those 28 to 30,5 cm high.

In the 'Requirements' of 1766 it is expressly stated that the handle must not be attached at the side, but at the back, opposite the spout. This would seem to suggest that the form with





84 Example of a coffee pot. Sketch in ink in the margin of the 'Requirements' of 1767. h. 2.5 cm. National Archives, Archives of the Canton Factory no. 132.



85 Example of a coffee pot. Pencil drawing, 12 × 17 cm, 1786. National Archives, V.O.C. 4553.

the spout at the side went out of fashion around the 1760's. For clarification a tiny sketch of such a pot is scribbled in the margin in these 'Requirements'. This is reproduced, greatly enlarged, in Fig. 84. It is further impressed upon the supercargos that 'if the pot stands upside down, the spout must be precisely the same (*i.e.* on the same level) and there must be a curve in the spout', while ribbed examples are not wanted on any account.<sup>30</sup>

It is not, alas, clear from the 'Requirements' and settlements when the straight-sided model was ousted by the 'Dresden' model, the pear-shaped coffee pot. That this development did take place is evident from an interesting appendix to the 'Requirements' of 1786, in which a number of unnamed 'Brabant Dealers' request the Zeeland Chamber to 'have some special kinds of Porcelains sent over'.<sup>31</sup> In addition to

coffee and chocolate cups and saucers, bowls, tureens and dishes in various colour schemes, the coffee pots in particular are described in detail: 'Also wanted are the coffee pots with wide spouts like the tea pots, and no pear-shapes, but straight and tapering, height 8 *duim*, width at base 5 *duim*, width at top 3½ *duim*'. Evidently this formerly customary type was no longer normally obtainable at the Dutch East India Company's sales and a special request had to be put in for it. To avoid mistakes a drawing was even added of the desired model and, happily, this sketch has survived (Fig. 85). Striking features here are the attachment of the handle to the body by short ties and the comparative thinness of the spout and the handle. Such a pot will have been difficult to realise in ceramics and it can be taken that a metal example served the draughtsman as a model. It is

abundantly clear in this case that the form was the main concern and that the choice of decoration was left entirely to the supercargos.

The Brabant dealers were evidently very successful with these coffee pots, which they received from Canton in 1788, for in the 'Requirements' that were sent in 1788 and later the directors asked for coffee pots 'half of them pear-shaped and half after the model asked for in 1786 for Zeeland.' Not only could they respond to a change in fashion in this way, but it also made a difference to the purchase price, for the pear-shaped pots were 30% dearer than the others. This straight-sided, actually outmoded model remained in favour with the public and in 1793 the China Committee wrote that pear-shaped coffee pots had become completely unsaleable.

In 1737 coffee pots 28 cm high in enamel colours cost 52 cents apiece, 70 cents in 1760, but in 1768 they had already gone up to fl. 1.10, while in 1785 over fl. 1.35 was paid for them. Proceeds on sales are unknown.

*Coolers (Koelvaten)*, Also called *koelemmers* (cooling buckets) or *ijspotten* (ice pots), these were used for cooling drinks or glasses. After an incidental shipment of four examples in 1730, a request was put in in 1732 for some 'Coolers Blue and coloured for a bottle, the same for a glass'. After that they were not asked for again until 1756, but it is not known whether they were actually sent then or not. In 1766 and 1767 coolers were asked for with the following characteristics: 'with two handles at the side, the same width top and bottom and with a mark on the bottom like the old porcelain.' The dimensions given in the settlement of 1767 were a height of 28 cm and a diameter of 23 cm. These examples cost fl. 1.30 apiece.

In the 'Requirements' of 1776 quite a different size was asked for, namely 13 cm high and with a diameter of 19 cm. From 1774 to 1780 coolers were bought in regularly, the blue-and-white for fl. 2.70 apiece, those in enamelled

colours for fl. 4.30. A cooler also belonged among the normal parts of the large dinner services of that time.<sup>32</sup>

*Cream dishes (Roombakken)*. There was not much demand for these and they were only asked for from 1761 onwards. At that time the Chinese had no separate cream dishes in stock and they refused to sell them apart from the services, so that they had to be ordered, a sign that they were not bought separately by other Companies either. They were mostly bought in as 'nests' of two or three dishes with diameters of 23, 25.5 or 28 cm.

In the case of separate cream dishes no mention is made of a lid or saucer, but a cream dish with handles, a lid and a saucer is sometimes listed as part of a service. The dishes sent in 1766 were all oval.

In 1764 a set of two cost fl 2.10, in 1780 fl. 1.95. Proceeds on sales are not known.

*Cruets (Olie en azijnstellen, oil and vinegar sets)*, also called *standaards tot zuur* (condiment stands), do not appear to have been popular among the public in Chinese porcelain. Separate examples occur only rarely in the settlements and they evidently did not form a permanent part of normal dinner services either. Only in the case of very large services of 420 or more pieces do they occasionally occur.

No further particulars are given about the sets shipped in 1732 and 1733, but they were probably in two parts. In 1733 four 'sets of oil and vinegar jugs' were bought for use at the factory and for these the compradors charged fl. 4.35 in all (see Note 47).

The examples shipped in 1766 were described in detail in the 'Requirements' of 1764 as a new kind: '*plats de menage*, coloured and gold, on each 2 oval and 2 round containers and 4 small jugs for oil, vinegar, pepper and mustard, each with its spoon'. The 65 examples asked for were, indeed, supplied, but they were very expensive, namely fl. 10.50 to fl. 15.75 apiece, depending on the painting (not specified). The

proceeds are not known, but they were not asked for again in later years.

*Cupboard garnitures* (*Kaststellen*), also called chimney-piece garnitures (*schoorsteenstellen*) or vases and beakers (*vazen en bekers*). Sets of vases were traditionally placed on chimney-pieces and cupboards as ornaments. Invariably shipped as sets of three pots and two beaker-shaped vases, they took up a lot of room, but the Dutch East India Company bought them very regularly, because the directors could generally count on a good profit from them.

Cupboard garnitures came in many sizes. The most common were those of 15.5 to 25.5 cm high, but there were also sets of 31, 33.5 and even 46 cm, in 1764, for example, 19 sets, dark blue. Small cupboard garnitures of 10 to 11.5 cm are also mentioned, especially before 1757 and after 1778. Every now and then it is indicated that the garnitures bought in are hexagonal (1764, 30 sets of 33.5 cm). 'Dark blue enamelled' (probably 'powder blue') was a variety much in demand, although in 1770 the directors wrote to the supercargos that 'dark blue with gold stars' had gone out of fashion.

In the drawing belonging to the 'Requirements' of 1758 is shown a cupboard garniture of which the pot with cover was required to be 41 to 43.5 cm high and the 'beaker' 36 to 38.5 cm. This gourd-shaped bottle looks much more like a 17th-century form and can be described as very old-fashioned in the mid 18th century (fig. 44).

In 1778 and after 'knobs' were asked for on the covers of the pots of 11.5 cm, 'gold lions' on those of 15.5 to 28 cm. In 1791 too, when many kinds were written off by the Company, the cupboard garnitures were kept on as a 'current article, for they have not been brought for a long time' and they were thus evidently in favour with the public.

Cupboard garnitures were highly profitable, especially at the beginning, but they continued to be so later as well. A blue-and-white set of

11.5 cm, which cost only 35 cents in 1738, fetched fl. 5.25 in Amsterdam in 1739. In 1760 such sets cost 35 cents apiece and fetched fl. 2.05 at the Zeeland sale of 1761. In the case of large cupboard garnitures the proportions were somewhat different. In 1761 the purchase price of a blue-and-white set of 25.5 cm was fl. 1.75, of one in enamel colours fl. 2.05. In 1766 considerably more was paid in Canton, without any reason being given in the documents, for at that time similar cupboard garnitures cost fl. 7.55 and fl. 8.95 respectively, while a dark blue enamelled set of 46 cm cost fl. 26.25. At the Zeeland sale of 1767 the above-mentioned blue-and-white set fetched fl. 16.25, the dark blue fl. 45.—. In 1784 the supercargos paid fl. 5.25 apiece for cupboard garnitures of 25.5 cm, regardless of their decoration, while a set of 40 cm in enamel colours cost fl. 12.60.

*Cuspidors* (*Kwispedoren*). The form of the cuspidor – a globular body with a dish-like, wide, flaring top – is already found in Chinese ceramics of the T'ang period (618–906).<sup>33</sup> In China such vessels were probably used as flower vases, but when porcelain of this form became known in Europe, around the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, it was put to a less refined use.<sup>34</sup>

Initially the Dutch East India Company did not ship cuspidors annually and only sent them in small amounts. In 1741 cuspidors with a handle at the side were also bought for the first time and these continued to be shipped incidentally up to 1767, after which they cease to occur.

The drawing of four handleless cuspidors accompanying the 'Requirements' of 1759 is interesting (Fig. 42). The draughtsman in the Netherlands must certainly have had an exceptionally poor idea of the formal possibilities of porcelain, for, apart from the example at bottom left, the cuspidors shown are clearly drawn from metal models and if they ever were ordered, even a Chinese potter would have had the greatest difficulty with shapes of that sort.

In general cuspidors were a readily saleable article, provided that they were not brought onto the market in too large amounts, and in 1791, when it was decided that many kinds should no longer be bought in, they were described as 'very current' and they could bring in a profit of over 200%.

In 1737 a blue-and-white example cost 26 cents, 22 cents in 1759, 35 cents in 1784. At the Zeeland sale of 1761 cuspidors bought in in 1759 fetched fl. 1.25 apiece!

*Dinner plates (Tafelborden)*. A distinction was made here between large (*grote*) or double (*dubbele*) plates, *twijfelaars* ('doubtfuls', an intermediate size) and single (*enkele*) or flat (*vlakke*) plates.

The double plates had a diameter of 28 cm. At first they were in great demand and even in 1737 the directors still wrote that they were very scarce in the Netherlands. In that year they cost twice as much as ordinary plates, namely 18 cents for a large blue-and-white plate, 30 cents for a Chinese Imari. In both 1737 and 1740 double blue-and-white plates fetched 58 cents in Amsterdam. In 1762 the prices were the same and at the Amsterdam sale of 1763 a double blue-and white dinner plate fetched 78 cents. By 1783 the purchase price had undergone a sharp rise: 42 cents for a blue-and-white, 52 cents for a Chinese Imari. In 1791 double plates were no longer regarded as 'current', but the purchase of them was not entirely abandoned.

*Twijfelaars* had a diameter of 25.5 cm and thus constituted an intermediate size between the double and single plates. They are seldom mentioned as a separate kind in the settlements, being nearly always listed under the double plates, so that they are also grouped under the latter in Appendix 11. After 1770 *twijfelaars* are no longer mentioned in the 'Requirements'. In the period before then they had been bought in incidentally in small amounts and they were scarcely cheaper than double plates.

The ordinary single dinner plates were 23 cm

in diameter on average. They can justly be called a basic commodity. However, towards the end of the 18th century they had to compete to an ever increasing extent with plates made in England, which flooded the market in the Netherlands. The Dutch East India Company's reaction to this was inadequate. It even reduced the variety in the decoration at the beginning of the 1780's, being driven to do so by the ever higher prices charged in Canton for decorations that fell slightly outside the normal run.

In 1729 the purchase price of a blue-and-white plate was 11 cents, in 1760 and 1766 12 cents and in 1785 18 cents. At the Amsterdam sale of 1730 the sale price was still high, namely 51 cents, but by 1737 this had already gone down to 39 cents. At the Zeeland sale of 1761 blue-and-white plates fetched 34 cents apiece, in 1767 39 cents. The purchase price for plates in enamel colours was 28 cents in 1732, 17 cents in 1760 and 1766, 35 cents in 1785. In 1737 they were sold for 60 cents, in 1761 for 61 cents.

The great difference between the purchase price of plates in enamel colours and those in blue-and-white is striking. It is to be explained by the fact that blue-and-white plates were made in great quantities at Ch'ing-tê Chên for stock and thus only reflect the general rise in porcelain prices in their prices. In 1732 the plates in enamel colours will perhaps still have been decorated at Ch'ing-tê Chên, but in 1760 they will certainly have been done in Canton. Painting was still not so expensive there at that time, but in later years more and more had to be paid for it because of the increasing demand.

*Dinner services (Tafelserviezen)*. The dinner sets (*tafelsets*) and dessert services (*dessertserviezen*) are also included under this heading. In the 17th century a dinner service consisted of little more than a number of plates, dishes and serving dishes, which in the most favourable case had a more or less identical decoration. Not until the beginning of the 18th century did there come

into being a pattern of eating that created a need for more extensive services with more component parts, which were required above all to exhibit the same decoration. At first the Dutch East India Company continued along the old 17th-century lines, ordering only 'dinner sets', consisting of plates, serving dishes, bowls and dishes, which were put together on the basis of the fact that they had the same pattern. The composition of these sets was constantly changing. In 1729, for example, a set consisted of 19 dishes and 30 plates, in 1731 of 3 soup bowls and 60 plates, but sets of 21 soup bowls and 50 dishes also occur in that year. In 1732 the Zeeland Chamber sent a number of 'Regulations for a service' on the *Nieuwliet*, in which was indicated how many pieces a service for 12, 15, 18 or 24 persons must contain.<sup>35</sup> A service for 12 persons numbered 35 dishes of 16.5 to 38.5 cm, two fish dishes and 36 flat plates, one for 24 persons 62 dishes, two fish dishes and 75 plates. Despite the compositions specified, the variety in the component parts is still too small to allow of these being recorded as real services. The 1733 settlement for Zeeland is not known, but like the Amsterdam supercargos those from Zeeland had to make do with what was in stock in Canton. The most common sets in the 1730's and 1740's, however, were those of 5 dishes with 20 plates and of 20 dishes with 50 plates.

In 1731 the purchase price of a set in enamel colours comprising 5 dishes, 6 serving dishes and 20 plates was fl. 15.05, in 1733 that of a blue-and-white set of 6 serving dishes and 20 plates fl. 7.85. For a blue-and-white set of 5 fish dishes and 40 dishes the supercargos paid fl. 25.20, for a dinner set in enamel colours with 5 dishes and 24 plates fl. 11.90. The proceeds on the sales, insofar as they are known, are not detailed, alas. In 1735 a 'blue-and-white service' fetched fl. 28.80 in Amsterdam, one in enamel colours fl. 77.—. In 1737 a blue-and-white set was sold for fl. 56.50.

Against this background the *Heeren XVII*'s commission to Cornelis Pronk to make designs for Chinese porcelain is exceptionally interesting, for in the 'Requirements' of 1736, 46 dinner services after Pronk's drawings are also asked for. In view of the composition required, however, it is no longer a rather large dinner set that is in question here, but a service with a proper composition numbering 371 pieces. Thus the Pronk services were not only the first *Chine de Commande* services ever ordered by the Company, but actually the first true services. The Company was reacting here to a fashion that had earlier made its appearance in England.<sup>36</sup>

According to the 'Requirements', this service was to consist of 35 dishes of sizes ranging from 22.5 to 49 cm in diameter, 2 tureens of 50 cm(!), 184 dishes ranging in size from 9 to 24.5 cm, 72 single and 60 double plates, 2 beer tankards and 8 salt cellars. It has already been described how, because of the very high costs, the *Heeren XVII* had to call a halt after only a few examples of such services (see p. 98).

After the failure of this experiment, they again confined themselves to the customary dinner sets, but the public evidently made ever increasing demands nonetheless, for in 1743 99 blue-and-white and enamelled 'services' were bought in, which could indeed lay claim to that name, with 60 plates, 25 dishes, 8 serving dishes, 1 tureen, 2 sauce boats, 2 mustard pots and 4 salt cellars. The purchase prices for these services were 90 guilders for the blue-and-white and 115 guilders for the enamelled, a tidy sum for that period! After that services of similar composition occur more and more often. Dinner sets did still continue to be ordered, but they were enlarged with more pieces and it can be said that from 1747 it was almost exclusively services that appeared in the Dutch East India Company's assortment.

Obviously there were services of all sorts of sizes and types. Small services had 5 dishes in a

range of sizes, a tureen, 12 soup plates and 24 flat plates. There was a great demand for the slightly larger services of around 120 pieces. These consisted of 13 serving dishes in sizes ranging from 25.5 to 36 cm, 8 dishes from 18 to 23 cm, 4 sauce boats, 1 fish dish, 2 tureens, 6 salt cellars, 6 butter dishes, 60 flat plates and 24 soup plates. In a slightly different composition one often also finds a few salad bowls.

A somewhat larger service is described in the 'Requirements' of 1750: 15 serving dishes from 25.5 to 36 cm, 8 salad bowls of 25.5 cm, 24 dishes of 20.5 cm and 23 cm, 100 flat plates, 2 octagonal salad bowls, 4 candlesticks, 4 salt cellars, 2 butter dishes and 2 sauce boats. No tureens are included here.

A really big service of around 525 pieces numbered according to the Zeeland sale catalogue of 1764: '2 fish dishes, 8 round tureens, 6 oval tureens, 50 round serving dishes in 5 sizes, 13 oval octagonal serving dishes in 5 sizes, 32 dishes in 3 sizes, 6 sauce boats with handles, 6 butter dishes with lids and saucers, 8 cruets, 3 large stands with 2 figures, 3 bases for the same, 3 salad bowls for the same, 12 oval dishes for the same, 6 round dishes for the same, 12 salt cellars, 12 candlesticks, 250 flat plates, 100 soup plates'. Interesting items in this list are the large stands, each with two figures on either side, which will have been very similar to examples still to be found in Dutch collections.<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 86). It is clear that with their accompanying bowls and dishes of various types, which could be placed on them as required, they were regarded as a very prominent part of the service and not as ornaments that might perhaps be added separately. The Dutch East India Company seems to have been the only one to have bought such large services for in 1764 the supercargos wrote, '...since such large services of 497 pieces are to no-one but the Company's taste'.

Really exceptional were the services of 631 pieces that were bought in in 1766. In enamel



86 Stand or centrepiece with two figures and a detachable fruit dish, decorated in enamel colours with the arms of the Feith family and the marriage arms of Cock, Van Merlott and Van Hardenbroek. Ordered by Gijsbert Jan Feith at Batavia around 1765. Porcelain, h. 37 cm, Chinese, c. 1765. Groningen Museum, Groningen.

colours these cost 473 guilders in Canton, in blue-and-white 252 guilders. In that same year were bought in six 'enamelled and marbled' services, the term used probably indicating a decoration of touches of colour flowing into each other. These services consisted of 2 fish dishes, 2 oval tureens, 14 round dishes, 14 oblong dishes, 12 fruit dishes, 4 sauce boats, 4 salt cellars, 30 soup plates and 70 flat plates. They cost 126 guilders, whereas a similar blue-and-white service cost 53 guilders and one with flowers in enamel colours 81 guilders. At the Zeeland sale of 1767 these three types fetched 215, 130 and 125 guilders respectively.

But the profits were not always good. In 1763 a 524-piece service in enamel colours sold for 485 guilders, while the purchase price was 471 guilders. A heavy loss was even suffered on 120-piece octagonal services in that year: the purchase price was 57 guilders as against a sale price of 31 guilders, while those in enamel colours, which had cost 79 guilders, made only 40 guilders! Nevertheless it can be said that in general dinner services yielded a reasonable, if not particularly large profit, the 50- and 120-part services being particularly advantageous.

Dessert services are mentioned for the first time in 1766. They are in fact small dinner services, consisting of plates, dishes, serving dishes and two or three butter dishes, ranging from 40 to 80 pieces in all.

The constantly changing composition of the services sometimes presented problems for the supercargos. In 1764 they complained that '... the assortment in dinner services is so different from that of 1762 and 1763 that the Chinese do not know where they are and they have become afraid to make anything of that nature on speculation'. The large services could certainly not be supplied from stock and had to be ordered, which was always a very time-consuming affair. Moreover, there was also a risk that not all the pieces would be identical as far as decoration was concerned, since the porcelain dealers distributed the orders for the commission among various factories, one of which made, for example, the dishes and plates, while another specialized in tureens. If anything was found to be amiss on delivery or failed to conform to the 'Requirements', then the rejected pieces had to be re-ordered. Thus it sometimes took years before a service could be shipped to the Netherlands.

Another problem was breakage in transit. An incomplete service fetched 20 to 30% less in the Netherlands and so the directors pressed the supercargos time and again to send some extra plates, serving dishes and above all, small dishes.

In the 'Requirements' for 1767 there is a reference to additions to an existing service.<sup>38</sup> At that time 560 dinner plates were ordered via the Company on the model of a sample provided, which was marked on the back with a six-pointed star. In view of the little drawing of this factory mark given in the 'Requirements', the model probably came from Nymphenburg, where a similar mark was in use from 1763 to 1767. Thus it was evidently cheaper to order replacements in China than from the European factory. This is the only example of the direct execution of a private order by the Dutch East India Company. We do not, alas, know the name of the person who placed the order, but he must certainly have belonged to the circle of the *Heeren XVII*.

In the 1770's the services too had to face the competition from English creamware and one thus sees the buying-in in Canton being reduced. On top of that, the quality of the porcelain and the painting evidently left something to be desired, for in 1776, for example, all the services put up for auction remained unsold for that reason. In reaction to this the *Heeren XVII* wrote that the buyers in the Netherlands would willingly pay more for better quality, which indicates that there was certainly still an interest in services of Chinese porcelain and it was not just the English imports that had caused the demand to decline. The supercargos were not given permission to pay higher purchase prices for better quality in view of all this, however!

Under the influence of fashion – and competition – the composition of the services changed somewhat, new pieces putting in an appearance. A comprehensive service of around 1780 consisted of 462 pieces: 10 oval tureens, 28 oval serving dishes of 24.5 × 32 cm to 45 × 38.5 cm, 26 round serving dishes varying from 31 to 45 cm in diameter, 4 fish dishes with separate strainer plates inside, 150 single plates, 85 double plates, 60 soup plates, 52 dishes of 18 to 25.5 cm, 12 fruit baskets with stands, 8 sauce

boats with stands, 4 salad bowls, 4 strawberry bowls with stands, 8 butter dishes and 8 salt cellars.

A smaller service of 164 pieces of that time numbered 2 oval tureens, 2 fish dishes with strainer plates, 16 serving dishes, 72 flat plates, 30 soup plates, 4 fruit dishes, 24 butter saucers, 4 sauce boats, 2 butter dishes and 4 salt cellars. Such a service was evidently a sort of standard service that, unlike the large services, could be supplied from stock in Canton. It cost 50 to 60 guilders and was handled on the Amsterdam market with great success, especially by the English merchants.

Despite the sending of new samples of patterns of decoration and strict instructions regarding the composition of the services, the sales were unsuccessful. In 1791 the directors were forced to admit that Chinese dinner services had gone completely out of fashion, while the unsaleable stocks had piled up in the warehouses.

*Dishes (Schalen).* A clear distinction is made in the 'Requirements' and settlements between dishes (*schalen*) and the larger and shallower serving dishes (*schotels*). Dishes came in various sizes. Single (*enkele*) dishes had a diameter of 23 cm, double (*dubbele*) one of 28 cm. In addition, there also existed sets or 'nests' of dishes, which sometimes numbered three pieces (18, 20.5 and 23 cm) and sometimes also five (18, 20.5, 23, 25.5 and 28 cm). Unfortunately, the sizes are not always given in the documents, nor is the form, which could be oval as well as round. 'Angular' dishes are explicitly mentioned only in 1761. For this reason, it was impossible to give expression to the differences mentioned above in Appendix 11.

Dishes were never supplied with covers and stands. Separate dishes were regularly shipped in great quantities from 1742 onwards. They were a very important part of every dinner service, whether large or small, and were used for all sorts of purposes at meals and so on. The

'Requirements' of 1753, for example, include 'dishes for shrimps, bread, etc.'.

In 1791 the purchase prices were considered too high. The market had dwindled and dishes ceased to be bought. Yet they were not expensive and had also scarcely gone up in price. A nest of three blue-and-white dishes cost the same in 1761 as in 1785, namely 70 cents. Proceeds on sales are not known.

*Ewers and basins (Lampetkannen en lampetkommen).* The first request for ewers was not made by the directors until 1762, and it then also immediately concerned a very specific type. 'The ewer must be as the sample and the basin in the form of a shell with three small feet so that it can be set down'. The decoration of these objects was required to be 'in the Dresden manner', *i.e.* flowers on a white ground.

A number of ewers and shell-shaped basins still in existence conform in many respects to this lucid description and can thus be dated around 1760–5 (Fig. 87).<sup>39</sup> They constitute one of those rare cases in which a clear link can be made between a reference in the records and an actual object. The Dutch East India Company seldom bought sets of this kind, however, because they were quite expensive. In 1764 the supercargos paid fl. 3.60 for a blue and white set and fl. 5.40 for one in enamel colours; in 1766 the prices were fl. 5.40 and fl. 7.20 respectively. The proceeds on the sales are not known, alas. It is possible that people in the Netherlands preferred to pay more for a much grander set in German or Dutch porcelain. The fact that such large pieces took up a great deal of room in transit will also have been a reason why the Company did not handle many of them.

The quality was evidently somewhat questionable too, for the supercargos themselves already wrote in 1764: 'The ewers and basins are much too clumsy and quite bulbous and rough underneath on the base, since they had to be stood on rods in the kiln'.

No particulars are given of the ewers of 1787



87 Ewer with basin in the form of a shell with three small feet, decorated in underglaze blue, iron red and gold. Porcelain, ewer h. 29.3 cm, basin 37.5 × 32 cm, Chinese, c. 1760–5. Private collection.



and 1788, and it is thus not certain whether they were of the same kind. Ewers and basins were likewise asked for in 1783 and 1789, but the supercargos could not obtain them 'on the cheap' and they considered it too expensive to order them.

*Figures (Beeldjes)*. Although the profits on figures were not bad, the Dutch East India Company bought them only sporadically. In this the Company was quite different from the Danes, for example, who shipped 8,112 'double and single manikins and figures' in 1738.<sup>40</sup> The English East India Company likewise bought a lot of figures, but the sale lists with private goods sold by this Company show that the purchases of English private traders were even more extensive and varied.<sup>41</sup> It is also curious, therefore, that *Blanc de Chine* figures representing Europeans have often been seen as depictions of Dutchmen without any justification being offered for this. As early as 1703, however, white porcelain groups with 'Dutch fam-

ilies' came up at a London sale of privately imported porcelain and mention is made in later years too of 'Dutchmen' and 'Dutch families'.<sup>42</sup> All this notwithstanding, however, it is more probable that it was a Dutch private initiative, in this case from Batavia, that gave rise to the names of such pieces. They are certainly not exact portraits and it seems much more likely that the Chinese potters will have represented a generalized type of Westerner by these and similar figures, borrowing characteristics of clothing and appearance from representatives of various nations. In addition, Chinese woodcuts depicting foreigners (Fig. 88) and European ceramic figures will have served as a source of inspiration.<sup>43</sup>

In 1747, 120 pairs of cows were sent in response to the 'Requirements' of 1746 in which a request was made for 'Cows, each pair with the heads facing each other, white grounds some with brown, some with blue spots, according to sample'. This sample will have been a Delftware

cow. Cows of Chinese porcelain, which exactly answer this description, can now be dated more precisely around 1747.<sup>44</sup>

The figures of 1760 were called 'white' and were thus in all probability made in Tê-Hua. They were bought in 'outside the "Requirements"' as sets of ten pieces and they cost 30 cents a set. The profit on them was large, for they fetched a good 18 cents apiece at the Middelburg sale of 1761.

The 'small figures' that were shipped in 1778, which were 15.5 to 18 cm high, brought in an average profit of 83%.

In 1779 the supercargos received four Delftware figures 'to demonstrate what kind of figures we would like to have, both in blue-and-white and in enamel colours, the painting and colours being then required to be more beautiful'. A limit of 28 cent per piece was set on the purchase price and the supercargos did not succeed in obtaining any for that amount, but in 1780 figures were cheaper and 1,243 were bought 'in all sorts of colours and figures' for 12 cent apiece, 'although some of them are painted with watercolours which dissolve when damp'. This last comment from the supercargos' report has actually been tested, for the figure of the Chinese man now on display in the South African Cultural History Museum, as one of the showpieces brought up from the wreck of the Middelburg, formed part of this shipment.<sup>45</sup> Despite nearly two centuries under water, the underglaze blue of the coat is still well preserved but the other colours have, indeed, disappeared. (Fig. 78).

The small figures of 1784 comprised 'all sorts of figures' and were bought in 'double', i.e. as sets, for 18 cents apiece.

*Fish dishes (Visschotels)*. The various terms employed for fish dishes, *visschotels*, *visschalen*, *visbakken*, *viskommen* and *visborden*, are not always used consistently in the records, so they are brought together under one heading in Appendix 11.



88 Representation of a Dutchman. Woodcut, Chinese, 1751. From H. Cordier, *Le consulat de France à Canton au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Leiden, 1908, after the *Houang T'ing t'sche-kong t'ou*.

Up to 1759 the settlements mention only 'fish bowls' (*viskommen*), but it is clear from the description of them in the 'Requirements' of 1747 that these are (deep) serving dishes and not goldfish bowls: '... with a flat rim of a *duim* all

round so that the bowls can easily be held and lifted'. Moreover, the *viskommen* of the settlement of 1752 are called *visshotels* in the unpacking book of that year.

In the 'Requirements' of 1763 and other years it is said that fish dishes have a raised rim and are 41 to 46 cm in diameter. From 1786 onwards oval fish dishes also occur, measuring 46 × 36 cm.

In the 'Requirements' of 1768 occurs the first mention of round fish dishes with separate strainer plates inside: 'the round fish dishes with separate pierced plates inside must all be of floral work; there must be a hole in the middle of the plate, where a finger can be inserted to lift it up'. In 1770 all the fish dishes were sent with strainer plates and they scarcely cost any more than those without, namely 5 guilders. In 1773, however, the dealers quoted prices of 14 to 18 guilders for orders, so that the supercargos had to forego them. Another maker was evidently found who could produce them more cheaply, for from 1774 onwards the dishes were again bought with strainer plates inside, except that from 1787 to 1789 some dishes without plates were bought, which could be combined with the strainer plates bought in separately (see also under fish strainer plates).

The name *visbakken* is used only in the settlement of 1759. It is possible that dishes of this type were bought in in accordance with the 'Requirements' of 1758, for the drawings of that year include a model of a *visbak* 49 cm in width as no. 1 (Fig. 41). These dishes cost fl. 3.15 and were sold at the Zeeland sale of 1761 for fl. 9.25.

A double *visbord* (fish plate) is shown as no. 2 in the drawings (Fig. 41). It is 26 cm in diameter and the wide, flat rim has a little raised edge, so that it would, indeed, have been ideal for putting fish bones on, but it nowhere appears that such plates were ever shipped.

In 1745 blue-and-white *viskommen* cost fl. 3.25 each. In 1766 blue-and-white fish dishes of

46 cm cost fl. 4.68 and fetched fl. 6.75 at the Zeeland sale in 1767. In 1777 blue-and-white fish dishes with strainer plates cost fl. 7.20, those in enamel colours 9 guilders apiece.

*Fish strainer plates.* (*Visplaten* or *gaateplaten*). Strainer plates were only bought on their own for three years, from 1787 to 1789. They could, if required, be combined with the fish dishes without plates bought then. They were both round, with a diameter of 31 to 36 cm, and oval. The quality of these plates was not very good, for the supercargos complained that they cracked so readily while being muffled in the kilns. They also wrote that 'the new fashion is much less strong', by which they meant the oval type that had been asked for from 1786 onwards.

*Flowerpots* (*Bloempotten*). One must think here of ornamental pots for orangeries or, as was said in the Zeeland 'Requirements' of 1732, 'Flowerpot, being an ornament in a garden'. In view of the Chinese tradition in the field of garden design, the simpler pots will not have been difficult to obtain, while special forms after Western models were ordered.

The pots of 1758 were bought from stock in sets of three for fl. 2.60. In 1764 there were two kinds: 285 sets of five pots with stands for 10 guilders a set and 12 separate pots at fl. 4.30 apiece, a high price for a single piece of porcelain in those days, so that these must have been large, and finely executed examples.

In 1793 too flower pots were asked for, price limits being set at fl. 2.50 for blue-and-white and 3 guilders for enamel colours, but it can no longer be discovered whether this request was actually met.

*Fruit baskets* (*Fruitmanden*). Fruit dishes, variously called *fruitschotels*, *fruitbakken* and *fruitschalen* are also included under this heading, the more because the supercargos did not use the names consistently and a 'fruit basket' in the 'Requirements' might well crop up as a 'fruit dish' in the settlements.

Fruit baskets came in various forms, the distinction between round, oval and 'angular' examples also being kept to in Appendix 11. Every now and then a few more particulars are given. The fruit baskets of 1733 were octagonal and scalloped; those of 1758 were all 'pierced', *i.e.* openwork, including 33 oblong examples. In the 'Requirements' of 1780, 23 cm is given as the diameter of a smaller type, 28 cm of a larger. Fruit dishes and baskets also regularly formed part of the larger services and were then sometimes provided with stands (1781), but stands are never mentioned in connection with the separate fruit baskets. The forms of the varieties other than baskets do not emerge clearly from the records, alas, but they will probably not have differed much from deep dishes.

In 1733 octagonal, scalloped fruit dishes in enamel colours cost 35 cents apiece. In 1760 a set of three blue-and-white dishes cost 42 cents and brought in fl. 2.10 in 1761. In 1780 the purchase price of a blue-and-white fruit dish of 11 *duim* was 44 cents, of 9 *duim* 31 cents.

*Gorgolets*. In the literature *gorgolets* are commonly equated with the *kendis* or *gendis*, which are characterized by a short spout on a globular body and a long neck,<sup>46</sup> but it is questionable whether this is correct, for it may be noted that the *gorgolets* of 1758 are described as 'angular with dishes' and in the accounts of that year as 'gorgolets with bowls'. The fact that a *gorgolet* was evidently incomplete in the 18th century without a matching bowl or dish gives food for thought. In the trade report of 1761 there is a discussion of the problem of obtaining cream dishes, which had been asked for for the first time then. The supercargos wrote: '... they are basins for *gorgolets* and the Chinese are not willing to sell these separately. We are afraid that to take them together would not suit Your Honours because it would take up too much room (in the ships) and as far as is known to us the *gorgolets* are not much in demand at home'. Cream dishes were quite deep and would not fit

*kendis*, while *kendis* are also never shown on 17th century paintings with a dish.

It is also important to note in this connection that in the comprador's bill of 1733 '11 *gorgolets* with basins for washing' are listed among the porcelain acquired for use at the factory.<sup>47</sup> It is generally taken that *kendis* were used for drinking, not for washing, thus it will not have been *kendis* that were meant here either. Finally, the name *kendi* or *gendi* never occurs in the records. *Kendis* will have been used exclusively in Asia and will only have been taken to the Netherlands incidentally as private possessions.

The conclusion must thus be that in the 18th century the *gorgolet* cannot be equated with the *kendi*, but that this was the name for a bulbous bottle with a basin.<sup>48</sup> It will have been used for, for example, washing the hands before eating. Thus the *gorgolet* served a similar purpose to that of the ewer and basin, but is distinguished from it by its form. *Gorgolets* were handled only before 1760, ewers not until 1762 and it is not impossible that the latter replaced the former in the Company's assortment.

In 1731 *gorgolets* with bowls cost fl. 1.75 apiece. In 1733 the comprador charged 87 cents apiece for the *gorgolets* he had supplied for the use of the factory. In 1758 the blue-and-white 'angular' (ribbed?) *gorgolets* were fl. 1.08 cents each, those in enamel colours fl. 2.10. Proceeds on sales are not known.

*Handles (Heften)*. Knife and fork handles cost 11 cents apiece in 1730, too much for any profit to be made on them, for at the Amsterdam sale of 1737 they fetched only 12 cents apiece. They no longer appear in the Company's assortment after that.

'Herb boxes' (*Kruiddoosjes*). 'Herb boxes' were used to hold medicaments and such a box was part of a ship's equipment.<sup>49</sup> Porcelain 'herb boxes' will perhaps have been used for remedies with a penetrating odour, but they will mainly have held ointments. They are thus probably identical with the 'boreb-boreb boxes' that were

sometimes handled by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century.<sup>50</sup> They had lids, but since they are mentioned only in one year, nothing further is known about the exact form. The purchase price is not given either. It is, however, not impossible that by 'herb boxes' are meant round, rather deep boxes with a lip and a slightly convex flat lid. Such boxes were sold in great quantities as a South China export commodity in, for example, the East Indies. They were also made in other ceramic centres in Asia and they are especially typical of Annamese stoneware and Sawankalok, Siamese stoneware of the 14th-15th century.

*Herring dishes (Haringbakjes).* The Dutch East India Company had this curious type of *Chine de*

*Commande* made in two varieties. According to the 'Requirements' of 1773, there existed a narrow type of 14 cm for a single herring and a wider one of 17 cm for two herrings and these dishes were ordered to be painted with one or two herrings respectively. Examples painted with both one and two herrings are known<sup>51</sup> and can be related to this reference in the records with a reasonable degree of certainty (Fig. 89). Delftware herring dishes will have been used as models, as has been demonstrated by D. Howard.<sup>52</sup>

In 1753, 92 narrow and 66 wide examples were shipped to Amsterdam on the *Roozenburg*, in 1773, 223 narrow and 216 wide and in 1776, 203 small and 203 large. The purchase prices



89 Herring dish, decorated in underglaze blue with two herrings. Porcelain, 23.7 × 17.5 cm, Chinese, c. 1775. Gemeente Museum, The Hague.

could differ widely: in 1773, 42 cents and 52 cents were paid for them, in 1776, 87 cents and 98 cents.

*Klapmutsen*. These are bowls with wide, curled-over rims. This typically 17th-century kind of porcelain was only bought in by the Dutch East India Company in 1733 and must already have gone completely out of fashion by then.

*Milk cups* (*Melkkopjes*) or *milk bowls* (*melkkommen*), which always had a handle, were only bought in every now and then in small quantities and then only in blue-and-white. No further information is given about them in the papers, but they were probably like a small bowl with a handle. In 1746 they cost 18 cents, in 1764 nearly 15 cents.

*Milk jugs* (*Melkkannen*), sometimes also called *melklampetjes*, regularly formed part of the assortment. The most common size was the milk jug of 14 cm, but there were also small jugs of 11.5 cm and large ones of 16.5 cm. The size is often not mentioned in the records, so that it was not possible to make any subdivision according to size in Appendix 11.

In this kind of porcelain too an attempt was made to keep up to date, as is evident from the 'Requirements' of 1767, when 4,000 jugs were ordered after an example in English earthenware.

The smaller jugs will have been used with other separately bought-in pieces to compose a tea service or replace broken examples. The large jugs will have been used at table.

In 1731 a blue-and-white milk jug of 14 cm cost 12 cents. In 1737 milk jugs fetched fl. 1.17 in Amsterdam. In 1761 the purchase price was 21 cents and in 1785 40 cents. The profits were exceptionally good in the 1760's, for at the Zeeland sale of 1761 milk jugs were sold for 85 cents apiece and in Amsterdam in 1763 even for fl. 1.55.

*Moorish* or *Turkish cups* (*Moorse* or *Turkse koppen*). By this was meant a handleless cup with straight sides sloping outwards. They were al-

ways bought in without saucers and were required not to be too small – slightly larger than a large coffee cup – on account of the grounds in Turkish coffee. These are first mentioned in 1753, when 'some cups for Turkey' were asked for and from that time onwards this kind of porcelain constituted a permanent part of the shipments.

As the name already indicates, these cups were bought for sale not in the Netherlands, but in the Ottoman Empire. The Dutch East India Company did not concern itself with transshipment from the Netherlands, leaving it to others to export the goods it imported. As far as the Turkish cups are concerned, the Amsterdam merchants of the 'Levant Trade' will certainly have been among the biggest buyers at the sales, selling this porcelain as their own merchandise in the countries around the Mediterranean. It is not inconceivable that the buying-in in Canton was partly determined by orders placed with the directors of the Dutch East India Company either directly or via the Directors of the Levant Trade.<sup>53</sup>

In accordance with the custom in Islamic countries, it is repeatedly emphasized in the 'Requirements' that these cups must on no account be decorated with 'figures or animals'. What was acceptable was a painting with, for example, 'mountain work, roses and trees', while a fine gold border on the inside was desirable. The directors preferred not to have ribbed cups, because they were vulnerable in transit. Thus cups painted in enamel colours with all sorts of flowers and plants occur most often in the settlements. The 'blue enamelled with golden flowers' in particular was often used for this kind, more than for any other. On the other hand, Turkish cups are the only kind that were never supplied in blue-and-white. Most unusual pieces were the 550 pale blue enamelled cups bought in in 1766.

The completely white, undecorated cups occupy a place of their own. In contrast to the

other varieties they were not exported again, but were used in the Netherlands as ‘tasting cups’, for assessing the different kinds and qualities of tea.<sup>54</sup>

A reasonable profit could be made on Turkish cups. In 1761 and 1763 the Dutch East India Company sold the simplest varieties (brown with shields, white with a gold rim) at Middelburg for 10 to 12 cents, the prettier painted cups (Chinese Imari, enamelled with flowers) for 16 to 18 cents apiece, while the purchase price was no more than 2 and 4 cents respectively. By 1785 the purchase price had gone up to 9 cents on average.

Around 1790 the cups imported by the Company had gone out of fashion. The ‘Greek dealers’ preferred a smaller model and the unsaleable stocks piled up in the warehouses. Thus an almost complete stop was put to the buying-in of them, apart from the white tea-tasting cups.

*Mugs (Mokken, moggen)*. This drinking-vessel with a straight-sided cylindrical body and a handle only formed part of the assortment for a few years. Mugs were bought as sets of three in graduated sizes. In 1763 the purchase price of a blue-and-white set was 90 cents and at the Zeeland sale of 1764 this fetched fl. 2.55.

*Pattipans*<sup>55</sup> were an indispensable part of every tea and coffee service shipped by the Dutch East India Company up to the end of the 18th century. The *pattipan* took the form of a small shallow dish with a flat bottom and a raised rim, which might or might not be scalloped. It could be round, hexagonal or octagonal or shaped like a leaf. The oval examples were called *schuitjes (q.v.)*.

*Pattipans* served to catch drips and to protect the tabletop. In a tea service worthy of the name – *i.e.* a service in which all the parts had matching decoration – each tea pot, each coffee pot and each milk jug had its own *pattipan*, to stand on.<sup>56</sup>

Curiously enough, however, the Company

did not order or ship any more separate *pattipans* after 1733, while separate tea pots, milk jugs and coffee pots were handled in large quantities throughout the entire period. Perhaps *pattipans* were not considered so essential in the case of tea services assembled by price-conscious buyers themselves and there was thus no demand for separate examples.

In 1731 blue-and-white *pattipans* cost 9 cents apiece, Chinese Imari (including 621 ribbed examples) 12 cents.

*Privy pots (Secreetpotten)*. Privy pots were bought only in the last years of the China trade. They were probably used for flushing privies. In the ‘Requirements’ of 1786 it is emphasized that a privy pot is not the same as a chamberpot. As dimensions for them were given a height of 11.5 cm and a diameter of 13 cm. They were supplied with both flat and rounded rims and they will probably have been much like a small chamberpot in form. Prices are not known.

*Punchbowls (Punchkommen or ponskommen)* only became a permanent part of the assortment in 1760, with the exception of a few incidental shipments in 1733,<sup>57</sup> 1752 and 1753. On this basis it could be posited that the drinking of punch did not become a more general custom in the Netherlands until after the middle of the 18th century. Punchkettles, however, are never mentioned in the records.

Punchbowls are distinguished from (slop) bowls by their form. The slightly flaring sides are straight, with no S-curve, passing without interruption into the smooth, non-overhanging rim. A shipment of punchbowls usually included examples of various sizes. The smallest type was 15.5 to 17 cm in diameter, followed by bowls of 18 to 19.5 cm, 20.5 to 22 cm, 23 to 24.5 cm, 25.5 cm and 28 to 30.5 cm. Less common were bowls of 38.5 to 41 cm, which were too expensive to bring in any profit. In 1764 a Chinese Imari bowl of 41 cm cost fl. 10.25; in 1765 an enamelled bowl with gold and figures of 39 cm

came to as much as fl. 16.80! Thus in 1765 the *Heeren XVII* wrote, 'for this reason no more of those fine ones must be sent'. Very unusual indeed were punchbowls of 46 cm or even 51.5 cm in diameter. The supercargos wrote about these in 1766: 'Punchbowls of 20 *duim* are never to be found for sale. The porcelain dealers also find it very difficult to supply the same on contract, since the same can never be made with correct proportions. They are also subject to much breakage during firing because of their size, thus the same would turn out at an excessively high price if one insisted on having them'.<sup>58</sup>

The Chinese porcelain dealers were accustomed to making up sets of bowls of different sizes, consisting of 2, 3, 5, 6, or 7 bowls with the same decoration. They bought no more than 150 to 200 of such sets in for stock and for larger amounts orders had to be placed, as was done by the Dutch supercargos and the 'Moors and private individuals' from India.

Among the punchbowls shipped were some with unusual decoration. In 1765 are listed 343 examples 'light brown outside, with gold', in 1785, 304 'enamelled with a vase' and in 1788 1280 'dark royal blue with medallions'. The number of completely white bowls is strikingly small. Evidently they were not considered suitable in the Netherlands for an overpainting in European style. Mention has already been made on pp. 108, 128 in Chapter III of the punchbowls asked for in 1779 with depictions of the Whampoa roadstead and the factory. (Fig. 51).

Punchbowls were imported not only for use in the Netherlands, but also for re-export, to Central and South America among other places, but after the United States began to participate in the China trade, it soon took over the supplying of that market. In Morocco there was a demand for punchbowls which were required to be 'beautifully painted like turbans and rich with gold'. 640 of these 'turban-style' bowls in Chinese Imari were shipped in response to the

'Requirements' in 1788. Their re-export will doubtless have been handled by the Directors of the Levant Trade, who had probably put in a special request for this type to the *Heeren XVII*.

In 1791 punchbowls were no longer considered to be a 'current' item. The high purchase prices were said to stand in the way of good profits and only a few hundred examples were asked for in the 'Requirements' of those years. There was no truth in this argument, however, for punchbowls had scarcely gone up in price. It was just that there had been more demand for them in the 1760's, so that they fetched more then.

In 1760 a blue-and-white bowl of 28 cm cost fl. 1.05 in Canton and fetched fl. 5.20 at the Zeeland sale in 1761. For a bowl in enamel colours of 23 cm the purchase and sale prices were 50 cents and fl. 3.30 respectively, for a Chinese Imari bowl of 20.5 cm, 35 cents and fl. 1.70. In 1783 the purchase prices for comparable types were fl. 1.12, 67 cents and 45 cents respectively.

*Punch ladles (Punchlepels)*. These were bought in only in 1768 and 1769. In accordance with the 'Requirements' they were 'punch ladles with wooden handles, oval and round, enamelled with flowers after the Dresden manner and gold rims'. They cost nearly 65 cents apiece.

*Rosewater bottles (Rozenwaterflesjes)*. These bottles, which, like the larger silver examples, had a pear-shaped body with a long, sharply tapering neck, are probably identical with what D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer terms '*puntflesjes*' (pointed bottles).<sup>59</sup> The Dutch East India Company had no need of them for the Dutch market and bought them only in 1733 for 24 cents apiece and in 1740 for 10 cents. In view of these prices they will have been small, simply painted bottles.

It is interesting to note that rosewater bottles were much more important for the inter-Asiatic trade. In 1750, for example, 1010 blue-and-white examples 'with a blue ring' were shipped



to Surat on the *Geldermalsen*. These cost 14 cents apiece.

*Salad bowls.* The Dutch names for these, *slabakken*, *slaschotels* and *saladières*, are not used consistently in the records and they are thus included under a single heading in Appendix 11. Indications that the difference was not very clear to the supercargos either are given in the settlement of 1749, where mention is made of 'round dishes or *slabakken*', and in the papers of 1751, where the *slabakken* mentioned in the sample list turn up as *slaschotels* or *slaschalen* in the settlement. From 1757 onwards only the name *slabakken* is used.

Salad bowls formed part of most of the large dinner services, but from as early as 1745 onwards separate salad bowls also occur more or less regularly. They could be round, oval, square or polygonal. Clear descriptions are seldom given, reference generally being made to the numerous samples sent to guide this item, which was much subject to changes in fashion, along the right lines. Stands are not mentioned, nor are openwork examples.

In 1748 nests of three salad bowls, '*klapmuts*-style', were asked for, the largest to have a diameter of 38.5 cm, as well as 'oval octagonal' salad bowls. The examples sent in 1752 are described in the unpacking book as '*saladières* green enamelled with flowers', but in the settlement as 'green celadon *slabakken*'. In 1766 salad bowls were ordered after a Delftware model, which had been sent, but of which no further description is given.

Salad bowls were normally bought in in nests of three. The commonest size was a set of bowls of 20.5, 23 and 25.5 cm in diameter. In 1764, 24.5 × 29.5 cm is given as the size for oval bowls. The height of salad bowls is not mentioned, but it will have been about the same as the diameter.

In the 1770's salad bowls with 'a scalloped rim' were much in vogue, but after 1779 they seem suddenly to have gone out of fashion. In 1791 salad bowls were one of the few more *de*

*luxe* kinds of porcelain not to be written off. The directors described them as 'very current and scarce in the Netherlands', continuing to ask for them for that reason.

In 1766 oval or oblong salad bowls cost fl. 1.60 apiece. At the Zeeland sale of 1767 the oval bowls fetched 3 guilders and the oblong fl. 2.50. In 1773 a round, ribbed blue-and-white bowl of 25.5 cm 'with a festooned rim' cost 95 cents. A nest of three blue-and-white salad bowls 'with the flowerpot' cost fl. 2.35 in 1785.

*Salt cellars (Zoutvaatjes).* Salt cellars were a normal part of dinner services of 120 or more pieces, but separate examples were bought in strikingly seldom. The public that made up its dinner service from separate pieces evidently did not consider it so essential to have a salt cellar on the table or preferred an example in silver, pewter or European porcelain.<sup>60</sup>

The yellow salt cellars of 1758 were bought in 'outside the "Requirements"' and had 'a flower on the lid', *i.e.* on the hollow top. They cost 11 cents apiece, nearly twice as much as the blue-and-white examples bought in in that year. In 1733, 8 salt cellars were bought for use at the factory, the comprador charging 12 cents apiece for them.

*Sauce boats (Sauskommen or saucières).* Oval sauce boats with a foot only began to form part of European dinner services in the first quarter of the 18th century.<sup>61</sup> The first separate sauce boats were shipped to the Netherlands in 1750 at the same time as the first true dinner services (see pp. 171–172).

The sauce boats referred to in the records always have a single handle, while a stand was often supplied as well. The 29 sauce boats sent outside the 'Requirements' in 1771 also had lids and ladles. A lid is very unusual for a sauce boat and it must be asked whether the supercargos did not mean small tureens here.

The sauce boats of 1780 were of 'a new model' in accordance with an example that had been received in 1778, but unfortunately there

is no further indication of what the new features were.

Sauce boats were not particularly expensive at first. In 1766, 40 cents apiece was the price, in 1774, 70 cents, but by 1780 this had shot up to fl. 1.75. It was because of this price rise that the directors cut sauce boats out of the assortment for good after 1784.

*Schuitjes* ('little boats'). These were not drinking-vessels for invalids (pap boats), but the oval, boat-shaped *pattipans*. *Schuitjes* often formed part of tea services in combination with the milk jugs. Sometimes the 'Requirements' or settlements list 'milk jugs with *schuitjes*', while the same milk jugs are described as 'with their dishes' in the unpacking books. Although it is clear from this that *schuitjes* served the same purpose as a *pattipan*, it is not impossible that they were also used to hold spoons, in emulation of the English, who ordered these objects in Canton as 'boats for spoons'.<sup>62</sup>

Like *pattipans*, separate *schuitjes* were bought only during the first years of the direct trade. They cost 11 cents apiece. At the Amsterdam sale of 1730 they fetched 38 cents each.

*Serving dishes* (*Schotels*). To judge from the settlements, separate serving dishes were by no means an item that was much asked for by the Dutch East India Company, something that one would not expect when one sees how many such dishes are to be found in collections nowadays. Thus a very large number of these will have come from dinner services, in which serving dishes were indispensable. In addition, private individuals also handled serving dishes, as is clear from the Zeeland sale catalogue of 1765.

Separate serving dishes, both round and oval, were bought in sizes ranging from 31 to 41 cm in diameter. They are distinguished by their size from the ordinary dishes or *schalen*, which were smaller. A set of three (31, 33.5 and 36 cm) cost fl. 2.40 in 1760 and fetched fl. 6.80 at Middelburg.

For the rest, it is interesting to note that in 1760 '8 green serving dishes' for domestic use at the factory were supplied by the comprador at 21 cents apiece. No such indication of colour is ever given in the settlements or unpacking books and it is not impossible that these may have been monochrome dishes of the celadon type.

*Shaving bowls* (*Scheerbekkens*). There was evidently no great demand for these in the Netherlands, but it was nonetheless possible to sell a few hundred of them from time to time. In Appendix 11 it can clearly be seen that round shaving bowls were preferred to oval ones and oval shaving bowls are thus rarely met with in present-day collections.

In 1737 'all sorts of shaving bowls' were ordered for 70 cents apiece. In 1762 the purchase price was fl. 1.05. In 1763 the oval examples fetched fl. 1.55 at the Zeeland sale. In addition to the relatively low profit, the space taken up by these pieces in transit will certainly have had an inhibiting effect on more extensive buying-in.

*Soup cups* (*Soepkoppen* or *bouillonkoppen*). These were round, bowl-shaped cups which held half a pint. They were provided with a handle and often had a saucer. They were sometimes supplied in sets of three, but they were not often bought in. On the drawings that accompanied the 'Requirements' of 1758 the recommended model for a soup cup is shown as no. 6 (Fig. 45). The absence of a handle is striking there, seeing that special mention is always made of the handle in 'Requirements' and settlements. However, reference is also made to drawing no. 6 under the half-pint bowls in the 'Requirements' of 1758, so it thus seems fairly obvious that soup cups were in fact half-pint bowls provided with a handle and with saucers.

Soup cups were not expensive. In 1759 they cost 21 cents apiece, while the exclusive yellow enamelled cups, which were blue-and-white inside, cost only 30 cents apiece. These yellow

cups were not highly valued at the sale of 1761, for they only fetched the same as the blue-and-white or those in enamel colours, namely 58 cents.

A careful distinction must be made between soup or bouillon cups and soup or bouillon bowls (*kommen*), the latter term being used in the settlements for tureens (*q.v.*).

*Soup plates* (*Soepborden*), also called 'hollow' (*holle*) plates or 'deep' (*diepe*) plates, were bought initially only in blue-and-white and then only in small quantities, but the reintroduction of the direct trade in 1757 clearly had a stimulating effect on this kind of porcelain in particular: more variety was introduced into the decoration and the amounts shipped showed an enormous increase. Although the directors wrote in 1791 that Chinese soup plates were no longer 'current', on account of the imports of English earthenware, they continued to be shipped to the Netherlands to the end.

The soup plate was the same size as an ordinary 'single' dinner plate, namely 23 cm in diameter, but it was deeper.

In 1738 soup plates cost 38 cents apiece. At the Amsterdam sale of 1739 they sold for 58 cents each. In 1760 a blue-and-white soup plate cost 15 cents and fetched 48 cents at the sale. For Chinese Imari soup plates and those in enamel colours the purchase price was 22 cents, the sale price 60 cents. In 1784 a blue-and-white soup plate cost 20 cents, one in enamel colours 32 cents, a Chinese Imari example 25 cents.

*Strawberry bowls* (*Aardbeibakjes*). These consisted of a round bowl with a saucer. According to the 'Requirements' of 1771, the bowl had to be 'pierced', which meant that they had to have holes at the bottom. There were two sizes, a small bowl with a diameter of 19 cm and a large one of 22 cm. The regular shipment of separate strawberry bowls began after they had been asked for in the 'Requirements' of 1769, when an English bowl was sent as a model. In 1791 they were written off, like so many other kinds,

because they had become too expensive. Strawberry bowls were also a fixed component of the larger dinner services.<sup>63</sup>

*Sugar bowls* (*Suikerpotten*). Under this heading are also included *suikerbossen*, *suikerkommen met deksels* (sugar bowls with lids), *suikerbollen* and *mandorijns*, names which do not often occur and which are not used consistently to distinguish these forms from *suikerpotten*.

Sugar bowls are often mentioned in the same breath as 'butter pots' in the 'Requirements', evidently on account of their form. It is clear from the settlements, however, that their use for sugar was regarded as the primary one, so that all references to 'butter or sugar pots' have been included under sugar bowls in Appendix 11 (see under butter dishes).

Sugar bowls were nearly always bought in in sets of three. They had to have two handles and a lid with a finial. It was evidently the finial that largely determined their value, for instructions are repeatedly given regarding its form. In 1764 'rings' were rejected as finials, while in 1773 the directors urged that 'flat knobs' should be sent above all. In 1791 sugar bowls were no longer considered 'current' and they were only bought in after that in order to enable buyers to supplement their tea services.

In contrast to most other separate parts of tea and coffee services, the number of decorations used on sugar bowls is quite varied.

In 1729 a blue-and-white sugar bowl cost 14 cents and brought in fl. 1.38 at the Amsterdam sale of 1730. A set of three sugar bowls cost 35 cents in Canton in 1738 and was sold in Amsterdam for fl. 1.10. In 1760 a set of three cost slightly over 18 cents and brought in 90 cents at the Zeeland sale of 1761. In 1785, however, a set cost 89 cents and the profit margin will have been a bit smaller.

*Tea caddies* (*Theebusjes*). It is most remarkable that tea caddies, a permanent part of every tea service, were seldom bought in by the Dutch East India Company as separate items. As in the

case of the *pattipans*, there was evidently no demand for them, either for replacing broken examples or for making up a tea service with other parts bought in separately. In such cases, perhaps, preference was given to a metal tea caddy.

Blue-and-white tea caddies cost 18 cents apiece in 1730. By 1780 the price had gone up to 54 cents.

*Tea cups and saucers (Theegoed)*. Various types are distinguished here, which are also mentioned separately in Appendix 11, namely large (*groot*) or double (*dubbel*) tea cups and saucers, single Dutch (*enkel Hollands*) tea cups and saucers, small Dutch (*klein Hollands*) tea cups and saucers and doll's tea cups and saucers (*poppegoed*). Tea cups and saucers were one of the most important kinds of porcelain for the Company, contributing a great deal to the profits that were made on the porcelain trade.

Large tea cups and saucers are only rarely mentioned as such, because they were identical with single coffee cups and saucers and were asked for and shipped under that name. Single Dutch tea cups and saucers were shipped in millions by the Dutch East India Company in the 18th century. As an article of trade they had many advantages: the demand in the Netherlands was large and constant, the purchase price was low and they could be packed and shipped very economically. Even a low percentage profit resulted in a sizable total return when such massive quantities were involved.

Tea cups and saucers were so generally known that only a few instructions were given in the 'Requirements' as to their form. The height of a cup was generally 5 to 6 cm, the diameter 6 to 7 cm. In the drawings belonging to the 'Requirements' of 1758 no ordinary tea cup is shown, but there is a drawing of the less common type with a handle (see Fig. 47 no. 23). Tea cups with handles were much more subject to breakage in transit and were thus shipped in

lesser quantities, which is not to say that there was less demand for them in the Netherlands! The same goes for ribbed and 'angular' cups. Moreover, all these variants were more difficult to obtain in Canton and often had to be ordered, as the supercargos wrote in 1778.

In 1777 tea cups with lids were asked for and in 1779, 51,705 of them were shipped, after having been ordered. The directors' comments on this shipment contain the extraordinary remark: 'The drinking cups with lids are rather odd, since we have never had this kind in the Company and do not know what they would be used for', an obvious example of faulty internal communication at the offices in Amsterdam!

In the 'Requirements' of 1759 there was a request for tea cups and saucers with 'a cup of pointed fashion', a type also called 'French fashion' in the case of coffee cups. What was meant by this was a cup with a small footring, which had straight sides flaring out rather widely from the foot. This type was not wanted for coffee cups 'in order to prevent breakage', as was remarked in the 'Requirements' of 1759, but that objection evidently did not apply in the case of tea things. In 1765 the supercargos were again asked to send some of the tea things 'with pointed cups'.

In the case of both coffee and tea cups and saucers 'deep saucers' were dismissed as odious. Evidently drinking out of the saucer had been abandoned by 1760 or thereabouts.

Mention must be made of a number of unusual decorations. In 1758 were shipped 3,690 single tea cups and saucers which were brown inside (!) and decorated in enamel colours outside. All the octagonal tea cups and saucers of 1778 were painted 'with the fools'. The dragons on the tea cups and saucers in enamel colours of 1765 were partly in red, partly in green and gold.

In 1731 the price of an ordinary blue-and-white tea cup and saucer was 7 cents, of one in enamel colours 12 cents and in Chinese Imari 14

cents. In 1760 the prices were 8 cents, 12 cents and 10 cents respectively. Brown tea cups and saucers cost only 5 cents apiece at that time. In 1785 the prices for all these kinds were 7 cents, 10 cents, 15 cents and 6 cents respectively. Thus the purchase prices of this basic commodity scarcely altered throughout the whole period. At the Amsterdam sale of 1730 a blue-and-white tea cup and saucer sold for 29 cents, in 1737 for 24 cents. The figures for the Zeeland sale of 1764 show no difference worth mentioning from those of 1760 and 1766. An average 25 cents was paid at that time for a blue-and-white cup and saucer, 30 cents for one in enamel colours, 25 cents for Chinese Imari and 23 cents for brown. Octagonal and ribbed cups and saucers and unusual decorations sometimes made an additional profit, sometimes not. Tea cups with handles were slightly more expensive. In 1784 blue-and-white cost 13 cents in Canton, enamel colours 15 cents and Chinese Imari 18 cents. In general it can be said that an average gross profit of 200% was made on tea cups and saucers. Small tea cups and saucers, sometimes called *stuivertjes* or *duitjesgoed* (stuiver or groat ware), were less often shipped. The cups of this type had a diameter of just over 5 cm, the saucers of 10 cm. The completely white cups were used as tasting cups for the different kinds and qualities of tea. It is interesting to read in the papers of 1779 that small tea cups and saucers, as well as doll's tea cups and saucers, could be sold only in Friesland.

The so-called doll's cups and saucers are mentioned for the first time only in 1779. At that period they were included under the small tea cups and saucers, from which they will scarcely have differed. In view of their name they were perhaps used as children's toys or as miniature objects in doll's houses.

Small tea cups and saucers decorated with little red roses were much in vogue in the Netherlands around 1765. The directors complain then that, despite their 'Requirements',

they have not received any of this ware, but that 'private individuals were bringing it in in great quantities on the China ships.'

As far as the price was concerned, it made little difference whether one bought small or single tea cups and saucers, for they cost about the same in Canton. The proceeds on the sales of this type are not known, alas.

*Tea pots* (*Theepotten* or *trekpotten*) constituted a permanent part of the assortment. However, in 1737 the directors wrote that blue-and-white tea pots must not be bought in, because there were too many of them in the Netherlands, so that they brought in too little profit. But by around 1744 the market had become more favourable again.

From time to time instructions were given about the form. 'Tea pots with wide openings and straight spouts' are mentioned for the first time in the 'Requirements' of 1750 and up to the end of the 1760's these straight spouts, which served 'for pouring well', were emphatically insisted upon. Another important point was whether a tea pot was 'flat underneath', *i.e.* had a footring, or whether it stood on feet. In 1758 843 blue-and-white tea pots were bought with feet and only 30 without. In the 'Requirements' of 1759, however, it was said that tea pots must 'above all have no feet', and this was repeated every year up to 1769. See also the drawing belonging to the 'Requirements' of 1758 (Fig. 43).

The 400 blue-and-white tea pots asked for in 1755 are interesting. Half of them were required to be in the form of a pear, half in that of an apple. Unfortunately, the settlement of 1756 is missing, but tea pots in the form of fruit were not unknown in Canton, so that it was probably possible to meet the requirement. Tea pots of this kind were also asked for in 1759 and at the Zeeland sale of 1761 there did, indeed, come up 461 tea pots in 'pear fashion' in enamel colours, of which the purchase price was 30 cents and which fetched fl. 2.55 apiece, and 547 in 'apple-fashion' in blue-and-white which cost 16 cents

and sold for fl. 1.40 apiece. Although these types are certainly rather unusual, neither their purchase prices nor the sale prices differed much from those of the ordinary tea pots. There was evidently little demand for them, for they are never mentioned again.<sup>64</sup>

Up to 1740 tea pots were bought with matching *pattipans*, but this was abandoned thereafter, because it had become too expensive. (Teapots as part of services kept their *pattipans*, however). In 1769 tea pots were bought in on the model of an 'English sample' that had been sent over, but unfortunately no further indications exist as to the form and decoration of this then fashionable form. In 1786 a height of 11.5 cm (excluding lid) was given as the measurement for an ordinary tea pot. A smaller one was 9 cm high.

A blue-and-white tea pot cost 17 cents in 1731, one in enamel colours 28 cents. At the Amsterdam sale of 1737 blue-and-white pots fetched 90 cents apiece, those in enamel colours fl. 1.94. Brown tea pots with blue shields cost 14 cents apiece in 1759 and were sold at the Zeeland sale of 1761 for 85 cents. In 1762 a small blue-and-white tea pot cost 18 cents, fetching fl. 1.50 at the Amsterdam sale of 1763. For the larger blue-and-white tea pots these sums were 31 cents and fl. 1.80 respectively, for the small pots in enamel colours 47 cents and fl. 1.82, for the large 78 cents and fl. 2.90, for the small Chinese Imari 27 cents and fl. 1.85, for the larger 70 cents and fl. 2.05. In 1785 an ordinary blue-and-white tea pot cost 47 cents in Canton and one in enamel colours 75 cents.

*Tea services (Theeserviezen)*. Under this heading are also included the tea and coffee services and the tea, coffee and chocolate services. Tea services were in vogue right from the start, except in the period 1745–50 when none were bought in for some inexplicable reason. Tea services were not made up of pieces acquired by chance, as was the case with dinner sets, but were bought in from the very beginning as services with a fixed composition.

Naturally there were different sizes and kinds of tea services, but it is notable that a tea service nearly always included chocolate cups and saucers. In 1729 a tea service comprised 1 tea pot with *pattipan*, 1 milk jug with *pattipan*, 1 slop bowl, 1 sugar bowl with lid and stand, 12 tea cups and saucers and 6 chocolate cups with handles and 6 without.

Tea and coffee services are mentioned for the first time in 1758, after which they occur regularly (separate coffee services are never mentioned). They were composed of 1 coffee pot with *pattipan*, 1 tea pot with *pattipan*, 1 milk jug with *schuitje*, 1 tea caddy, 1 slop bowl with saucer, 1 sugar bowl with lid and stand, 12 coffee cups and saucers, 12 tea cups and saucers and 6 chocolate cups. An ordinary tea service of that time had the same composition minus the coffee pot and coffee cups and saucers.

The most comprehensive services are the tea, coffee and chocolate services which do not occur so often. Their composition is described as follows in the 'Requirements' of 1762: 2 coffee pots of different sizes with *pattipans*, 2 large and 2 smaller milk jugs with *pattipans*, 1 sugar bowl with lid and stand, 1 cream pot with lid, 4 tea pots with *pattipans*, 2 square tea caddies, 13 chocolate cups and saucers, the cups with two handles, one on each side, 13 double coffee cups and saucers, 13 tea cups with handles and saucers, 2 slop bowls 16.5 cm in diameter with saucers and 4 candlesticks. In a similar service in the 'Requirements' of 1768 the cream pots and candlesticks are left out, but a pierced porcelain sugar caster is asked for.

The tea and coffee services asked for in 1776 constitute a rare example of a service which also included a chocolate pot with *pattipan*. Separate chocolate pots are never mentioned.

In 1791 the supercargos were asked not to buy in any more tea services, but only separate pieces with matching decoration, from which the 'Masters of the Warehouse' in the Netherlands would be able to make up tea services themselves to put up for sale.

The painting of tea services has some interesting aspects. 'Black enamelled' finds its most extensive use here, often in combination with flowers or figures, but, curiously, black is completely absent from parts of tea services (cups and saucers, sugar bowls, tea pots, etc.) bought in separately. *Encre de Chine* is also well represented on tea services, which were, after all, meant for a more affluent public.

In 1765, 50 services 'black with a crown' were asked for and ordered, but on their delivery in 1766 they proved to have turned out so badly that the supercargos rejected them. At the Dutch East India Company's sale at Delft in 1767 were offered among the 'permitted' private porcelain 4 tea services, black enamelled 'with a portrait and a gold rim'. These plus 2 blue-and-white tea services fetched 57 guilders, which was certainly not much. In 1778 tea services were asked for with 'the crucifixion of Christ'. The supercargos complied with this demand, but in their comments on the shipment the directors described the services as 'very offensive'. The supercargos responded, with justice, by referring to the 'Requirements': 'This drawing was clearly made known in the description of the samples. We understood that there would be little profit on them..., but thought that 22 tea services would be quite acceptable in Brabant, the more because we saw some of the same sort being made ready here for the Austrians then engaged in trade'.<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 49).

The services bought in 1760, included in Appendix 11 under Chinese Imari, were listed in the settlement as 'Japanese imitation' and were bought in 'outside the "Requirements"' on the initiative of the supercargos. They were expensive: the 28 tea and coffee services cost fl. 25.20 each, the 20 tea services fl. 11.20. At the Zeeland sale of 1761 they fetched fl. 50.50 and fl. 18.20 each respectively.

Some other prices: in 1731 the supercargos bought in a simple blue-and-white tea service

for fl. 3.85 and an enamelled service for fl. 5.60. In 1737 a blue-and-white service sold in Amsterdam for fl. 8.12, one in enamel colours for fl. 9.50, a Chinese Imari for fl. 13.75. In 1760 a blue-and-white service cost fl. 3.15, one enamelled with flowers fl. 5.25 and one with a decoration 'of European drawing' fl. 7.70. At the Zeeland sale of 1761 these fetched fl. 12.40, fl. 23.75 and fl. 34.20 respectively. A large tea and coffee service in enamel colours cost fl. 38.50 in 1766, 36 guilders in 1785, while for a similar service in blue-and-white 28 guilders was paid in Canton. In the same year an ordinary tea service cost fl. 8.75, one in enamel colours was cheaper, namely fl. 7.20.

*Tureens (Terrines)*. Tureens were initially referred to as soup or bouillon bowls. Not until the 'Requirements' of 1751 does one find the first mention of 'bouillon bowls or tureens'. On the drawings that accompanied the 'Requirements' of 1758 a tureen is depicted as no. 8 (Fig. 45), but it is called in the description 'soup bowl, covered, with handles and a plate underneath'. Only after 1760 was the name tureen used to the exclusion of any other.

Separate tureens were supplied in both round and oval forms. They always had two handles or lugs, a cover with a finial and a stand. In the 1760's in particular an unusual amount of attention is paid to tureens in the 'Requirements' and also from those years date some exceptional examples which merit discussion in rather greater detail, because they sometimes turn up as a type in present-day collections.

In the 'Requirements' of 1759, as part of dinner services, tureens were asked for 'with lugs at the sides... and finials like a bird, a lion couchant or something of the sort'. The 'lugs' are described in more detail in the 'Requirements' of 1760: 'with lugs for handles in the form of rabbits at the sides and a lion for a finial on the cover'. The combination of rabbits' heads as handles and a bird as finial occurs on tureens of services bought in Canton by the Emden

Company for Frederick the Great in 1753. It is not impossible that a tureen from this service may have served the *Heeren XVII* as a model in drawing up their 'Requirements', for the royal services were put up for public auction as early as 1756 and there will probably also have been Dutchmen among the buyers.<sup>66</sup>

In 1762 tureens of this kind were asked for again and a sample was sent. In addition tureens on the same model were asked for, of which it was said: '... in place of the finial on the cover, there must be a pierced crown' Similar tureens had already been considered fashionable by private individuals before then<sup>67</sup> and although they may thus have been a bit out-of-date by the time the Dutch East India Company ordered them, this does at least represent an attempt to keep abreast of the times in the assortment and beat the competition.

Also of exceptional interest are the tureens in the form of birds or animals. These had already been made since the beginning of the 18th century, but the Company did not care to take a chance with such exuberant pieces until quite late on. They were asked for for the first time in the 'Requirements' of 1763: '25 tureens, the form as a boar's head, the stand finely painted' and 25 'in the form of a goose'.<sup>68</sup> It is a striking fact that the supercargos were evidently able to buy these without ordering in Canton. They wrote: 'of the tureens in the form of a goose there were certainly more to be had, but the stands were not very well painted and yet the dealers were not willing to lower the price. We did not order these, because we were afraid that it would be impossible for this article to bring in a reasonable profit in view of the high purchase prices and great volume'.<sup>69</sup> In 1764, 19 boars' heads and 4 geese were shipped, but they certainly were not cheap at fl. 10.50 each. The proceeds on the sales are not known, alas. In 1764 too the directors asked for 30 such tureens, but the supercargos evidently considered them too risky a purchase and left them out.

Tureens came in various sizes. In 1774 a set of three comprised tureens of 16.5, 20.5 and 23 cm. There also existed very small tureens, which were used for stews. In the 1770's in particular oval tureens were much in vogue.

After 1780 the buying-in showed a sharp decline. This is remarkable, since in 1791 the directors wrote that tureens were a 'current article' on which good profits could be made.

The purchase prices of soup bowls or tureens are not known before 1757. In 1761 a round Chinese Imari tureen cost fl. 3.50 and a blue-and-white fl. 2.80. At the Zeeland sale of 1764 round blue-and-white tureens fetched nearly 15 guilders apiece. In 1783 the supercargos paid fl. 4.30 apiece for round and oval blue-and-white tureens, in 1784 fl. 6.50 apiece for tureens in enamel colours.

*Vases with basins* (*Vazen met bakken*) also called fountains with basins (*fonteinpotten met onderbakken*). These were large vases with lids. They were provided with a brass tap in the Netherlands and served as a fountain. Sixty of these sets in all were shipped in the period 1737–40, either direct to the Netherlands or via Batavia. They are exceptionally interesting in view of the fact that they were painted after the models that Cornelis Pronk had designed for the Company (see pp. 98–100). The first design, 'the parasol ladies', appeared on 28 sets. Because of the excessively high price (a large vase with basin cost 220 guilders on average), the supercargos only ordered a few sets in 1736 as an experiment. In their trade report they wrote that 'many and in fact most of the oval water basins for the vases cracked and ruptured in the firing'. However, nine sets were supplied nonetheless and despatched in 1737 via Batavia, while a number were again ordered with the same decoration. These were sent to the Netherlands in 1738, but they only fetched fl. 113.10 apiece at the sale in Amsterdam. In 1739, 20 sets, decorated with 'the 4 doctors', were sent via Batavia (Fig. 90), while in 1740, 12 sets,





90 Water vase, decorated in enamel colours with 'the four doctors' after the design by Cornelis Pronk. Porcelain, Chinese, 1738.  
From D. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West*, Vol. I, New York/London, 1978, p. 294.

painted after ‘the fourth design by Pronk’, most probably ‘the arbour’, were shipped direct to the Netherlands.<sup>70</sup> In 1782, 1783 and 1784 fountains with basins were again asked for, including taps of ‘best white Chinese copper’. The supercargos replied that they would have to be ordered and that they would then be very expensive, so the purchase was abandoned.

*Vomit pots* (*Spuugpotjes* or *spuijpotjes*) had a single thick handle and according to the ‘Requirements’ of 1749 looked like ‘a small water pot holding the same amount as an ordinary slop bowl’. They will have been used in sickrooms. They were already written off for good in 1757 ‘because of the vulnerability of

the handles and because the same are little in use’. Purchase prices are not known.

*Walking-stick handles* (*Rottingknoppen*) The porcelain handles for cane walking-sticks must be distinguished from those for walking-sticks of other materials, which were also made in Chinese porcelain, but were larger and more elegant.<sup>71</sup> The latter were never handled by the Dutch East India Company.

Handles for cane walking-sticks were bought in only in 1737 and 1743 at less than 10 cents apiece. In view of the large quantities, these might perhaps have been special orders for re-export, since there was evidently no demand in the Netherlands for these objects in other years.

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## Conclusions

Research in the archives has made it clear how much the porcelain trade ought to be regarded as a part of the China trade as a whole. The changes in the organization of the China trade, prosperity or setbacks had an immediate effect on the policy regarding the buying in of porcelain. Thus, for example, in 1735, in 1757 and in 1783 new stimuli were given, new types asked for and models sent, whereas in 1787, with the cutback in the China trade, the porcelain trade too came to concentrate solely on the most current and profitable kinds.

For the Dutch East India Company porcelain was in the first place an item of merchandise and the size of the profit made on it was decisive in the drawing up of the 'Requirements'. If the proceeds on a given type or variety fell below a certain limit – which can roughly be said to be around 40% gross profit – then the buying-in of it was stopped. Thus the assortment that the Company handled was determined to a large extent by the purchase prices in Canton and not merely by the demand of the customers in the Netherlands.

Porcelain contributed in only a modest degree to the total profits that the Dutch East India Company made on all the goods from China. On average it constituted 5% of the return shipments, but it was genuine merchandise and it was not regarded merely as ballast.

However, when one sees what a disproportionate amount of time and attention was devoted to the buying-in, how detailed the 'Requirements' were and how extensive the settlements, then one could say that porcelain came immediately after tea in importance. The explanation for this is probably that the Company in fact dominated the Dutch market with its imports of porcelain. Even the porcelain shipped by private individuals on freight was sold at the Company's sales. The legal and illegal importation by private individuals outside the Company was undoubtedly extensive, but it never took on the character of an organized trade. Other Companies too seem to have used the Netherlands as a market to only a limited extent after 1730. Thus the Dutch East India Company's position was a strong one without being monopolistic, and on average the directors could count on a gross profit of over 100%, a profit which showed a decline only after 1780.

By the 18th century Chinese porcelain had passed into everyday use. Economic shifts in the Dutch Republic had brought into being a new, broad middle class, in which porcelain found a market in large quantities. European porcelain was more expensive and thus more exclusive and was bought by a smaller, richer group. In order to hold the large buying public

and maintain its position as an important supplier, the Dutch East India Company offered a wide choice of porcelain. It is understandable that in this it was mainly a question of having to meet the demand for ordinary eating and drinking utensils, such as tea and coffee cups and saucers, bowls and dinner plates in blue-and-white and enamel colours. From the economic angle too, the porcelain trade was based on these types, which could be sold in massive quantities in the Netherlands year in, year out, while the purchase prices in Canton were low. The Company handled exceptional types and decorations to a much lesser extent and then only in periods when the directors wanted to stimulate the porcelain trade. Porcelain with decorations in the European manner, for example, was seldom bought in and it was mainly private individuals who brought such porcelain to the Netherlands.

In the absence of comparative material from other Companies, there still remain a number of questions to which it is not possible to give satisfactory answers. Thus, for example, it is still not clear to what extent the porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company determined what was on offer as a whole in the porcelain shops in Canton. The Company was undoubtedly one of the biggest customers and it made much higher demands in buying-in than did the supercargos of the English East India Company, for example, who bought what was available and took scarcely any interest in porcelain as merchandise. The Danes and the Swedes bought critically, but the extent of their purchasing was much smaller. It is also difficult to say whether one can speak of a typically Dutch assortment. Butter saucers, butter dishes, caudle cups and saucers, Moorish cups, small tea cups and saucers and probably also cupboard garnitures belong among the types that were never or much more rarely bought in by others. The preference of the Dutch for blue-and-white porcelain, even when it had gone out of fashion

elsewhere, is remarkable, however.

A third question concerns the extent to which the porcelain trade was influenced by external factors. Changes in fashion were certainly important. English creamware and other earthenware, for example, was already regarded as a competitor by the directors in the early 1770's. It probably suited the taste of that time better as far as its decoration was concerned, although it is notable that a number of the decorations used on it were inspired by Chinese models. It was probably no dearer, or scarcely any dearer than Chinese porcelain, but research is still needed into the handling of this earthenware outside England. In addition, the trade in Chinese porcelain inside the Netherlands and its re-export also demands closer study, which would, however, necessitate very extensive research into the records.

In this study Chinese porcelain has been regarded as merchandise, an approach which has also brought to light new information about the appearance, the dating and the occurrence of the various types in the 18th-century assortment of the Dutch East India Company. Aspects such as the stylistic development or the influence of European models have already been discussed in detail by others. The social function of this porcelain, on the other hand, has still scarcely been studied at all. One might think here, for example, of research into inventories of people from different levels of the population, spread over a number of periods.

This study was based on research into records, a method which is indispensable for the gathering of historical and art-historical factual material, yet which is still too often neglected. It must, however, be emphasized that this method of research does not render other approaches superfluous. On the contrary, only in combination with them is it possible to acquire an all-embracing insight into art-historical and social-historical aspects of the past.

# Appendix 1

## *Dutch East India Company ships in Canton, 1729–95*

The information given below is taken from V.O.C. 4932, 4935 and 4936, ‘Outgoing Ships Books’, and from the general reports, invoices, letters, etc. of the years in question. By ‘Year’ is meant the year in which a ship arrived in Canton. Only the most relevant information is given

under ‘other details’, namely: 1. reasons why ships sent out failed to reach China; 2. changes of destination and replacements; 3. shipwrecks and delays on the homeward voyage.

The names of the Chambers are abbreviated as follows: A = Amsterdam, B = Batavia, D = Delft, E = Enkhuizen, H = Hoorn, R = Rotterdam, Z = Zeeland (Middelburg), S = Surat.

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1729	<i>Coxborn</i>	A.	The <i>Buren</i> (A.) unable to sail because of frost.
1730	<i>Duifje</i>	A.	
1731	<i>Coxborn</i>	A.	The <i>Buren</i> (A.) lost on outward voyage off Texel.
1731	<i>Leijduin</i>	A.	
1731	<i>Nieuwliet</i>	Z.	The <i>Anna Catharina</i> (Z.) misses the season and remains in Batavia until 1733
1732	<i>Knappenboff</i>	A.	
1732	<i>Ypenroode</i>	A.	
1733	<i>Voorduin</i>	A.	
1733	<i>Leijduin</i>	A.	Lost off the Chinese coast on the homeward voyage. Originally meant for Amsterdam, replacement for the <i>Alblasserdam</i> .
1733	<i>Nieuwliet</i>	Z.	
	<i>Anna Catharina</i>	Z.	
1734	<i>Noordwolfsbergen</i>	A.	
1735	<i>Alblasserdam</i>	B.	
1735	<i>Den Dam</i>	B.	

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1735	<i>Huijs den Eult</i>	B.	For Japan. Damaged in gale, repaired at Canton, returns to Batavia.
1736	<i>Huijs te Spijke</i>	A.	
1736	<i>Magdalena</i>	B.	
1737	<i>Beekvliet</i>	A.	All three ships, blown off course by contrary winds, call at Amoy. No success with trade there, so they sail on to Canton.
1737	<i>Knappenboff</i>	Z.	
1737	<i>Crooswijk</i>	B.	
1738	<i>Hogersmilde</i>	A.	
1738	<i>Popkensburg</i>	B.	
1739	<i>Huijs den Eult</i>	A.	
1739	<i>Langewijk</i>	B.	
1739	<i>Noordwijkerhout</i>	B.	
1740	<i>Bethlehem</i>	A.H.E.	
1740	<i>Scheijbeek</i>	Z.R.D.	
1740	<i>Lage Polder</i>	B.	
1741	<i>Enchuijsen</i>	A.Z.	Lost on homeward voyage
1741	<i>Huijs te Foreest</i>	B.	
1742	<i>Huijs te Foreest</i>	A.H.E.	
1742	<i>Crabbendijke</i>	Z.R.D.	
1742	<i>Padmos</i>	B.	
1743	<i>Guntersteijn</i>	A.	Damaged on homeward voyage, goods transferred to the <i>Fortuijn</i> at the Cape. Cargo sold in 1745.
1743	<i>Padmos</i>	Z.	
1743	<i>Nieuw Walcheren</i>	B.	
1744	<i>Overnes</i>	A.	
1744	<i>Bosbeek</i>	R.D.	
1744	<i>Susanna Catharina</i>	B.	
1744	<i>Verwagting</i>	S.	
1745	<i>Zuijderburg</i>	A.	
1745	<i>Zaamslag</i>	Z.	
1745	<i>Huijs te Foreest</i>	B.	
1746	<i>Lekkerland</i>	A.	
1746	<i>Hoff D'Uno</i>	H.E.	
1746	<i>Wickenburg</i>	B.	From Surat to Canton
1747	<i>Akerendam</i>	A.	
1747	<i>Zuijderburgh</i>	A.	
1747	<i>Overnes</i>	A.	
1747	<i>Gustaaf Willem</i>	Z.	
1747	<i>Pasgeld</i>	R.	From Surat to Canton; earmarked there for R.
1747	<i>Rijnhuijsen</i>	B.	
1748	<i>Leijden</i>	A.	From Surat
1748	<i>Zaamslag</i>	Z.	
1748	<i>Padmos</i>	B.	
1748	<i>Sara Jacoba</i>	S.	
1749	<i>Slooten</i>	A.	
1749	<i>Sara Jacoba</i>	B.	From Surat
1749	<i>Getrouwigbeijt</i>	S.	The <i>Zeelandia</i> (H.E.) lost on outward voyage

*Appendix I*

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1750	<i>Overnes</i>	A.	
1750	<i>Nieuw Vijvervreugd</i>	Z.	
1750	<i>Getrouwigheijt</i>	B.	From Surat
1750	<i>Geldermalsen</i>	S.	
1751	<i>Amstelveen</i>	A.	
1751	<i>Geldermalsen</i>	Z.	From Surat; lost on homeward voyage.
1751	<i>Standvastigheijt</i>	B.	
1751	<i>Vrijburg</i>	S.	
1752	<i>Luxemburg</i>	A.	
1752	<i>Eendragt</i>	A.	
1752	<i>Nieuw Nieuwerkerke</i>	Z.	
1752	<i>Jager</i>	E.	
1752	<i>Vrijburg</i>	B.	From Surat
1752	<i>Tulpenburg</i>	S.	
1753	<i>Bosch en Hoven</i>	A.	
1753	<i>Roosenburgh</i>	A.	
1753	<i>Overnes</i>	A.	
1753	<i>Middelburg</i>	Z.	
1753	<i>Vreedesteijn</i>	R.	
1753	<i>Tulpenburg</i>	B.	From Surat
1754	<i>Amstelveen</i>	A.	From Surat
1754	<i>Tulpenburg</i>	A.	
1754	<i>Admiraal de Ruijter</i>	A.	
1754	<i>Baarsande</i>	Z.	
1754	<i>Rhoon</i>	Z.	
1754	<i>Overschie</i>	D.	
1754	<i>Thoornvliet</i>	B.	
1755	<i>Slooten</i>	A.	
1755	<i>Haerlem</i>	A.	
1755	<i>Nieuw Nieuwerkerke</i>	Z.	
1755	<i>Getrouwigheijt</i>	H.	
1755	<i>Ghiessenburg</i>	B.	From Surat
1756	<i>Bosch en Hoven</i>	A.	
1756	<i>Eendragt</i>	A.	
1756	<i>Vrijburg</i>	Z.	
1756	<i>Welgelegen</i>	E.	
1756	<i>Kievitsheuvel</i>	B.	
1756	<i>Brouwer</i>	B.	
1757	<i>Slooten</i>	A.	
			The <i>Spaarzaamheid</i> (A.) unable to sail because of frost
1758	<i>Renswoude</i>	A.	
1758	<i>Velsen</i>	A.	
1758	<i>Zuijd Beveland</i>	B.	
1759	<i>Petronella Maria</i>	A.	
1759	<i>Geertruijda</i>	A.	
1759	<i>Kroonenburgh</i>	Z.	Cargo sold in 1761
1760	<i>Oosterbeek</i>	A.	
1760	<i>Onder Amstel</i>	A.	
1760	<i>Velzen</i>	Z.	

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1761	<i>Jonge Lieve</i>	A.	
1761	<i>Damzigt</i>	Z.	Originally earmarked for Amsterdam. The <i>Kievitsheuvel</i> (Z.) unable to sail because of frost.
1762	<i>A-Schat</i>	A.	
1762	<i>Petronella Maria</i>	A.	
1762	<i>Admiraal de Ruyter</i>	Z.	
1763	<i>Huijs te Bijweg</i>	A.	Cargo sold in 1765
1763	<i>Slooten</i>	A.	
1763	<i>Westervelt</i>	Z.	
1764	<i>Lands Welvaren</i>	D.	
1764	<i>A-Schat</i>	A.	
1764	<i>Ruyteveld</i>	Z.	Originally earmarked for Amsterdam.
1764	<i>Huijs Om</i>	A.	Originally earmarked for Zeeland
1765	<i>Vreedenhof</i>	A.	
1765	<i>Noord Beveland</i>	A.	
1765	<i>Pallas</i>	Z.	
1765	<i>Walenburgh</i>	R.	
1766	<i>Jonge Thomas</i>	A.	
1766	<i>Jonge Lieve</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Lindenboff</i> from Batavia
1766	<i>Nieuw Rhoon</i>	Z.	
1766	<i>Bartha Petronella</i>	H.E.	The <i>Lindenboff</i> (A.) lost in the China Sea on the outward voyage
1767	<i>Ganzenhoef</i>	A.	
1767	<i>Pallas</i>	A.	Originally earmarked for Zeeland
1767	<i>Geijnwensch</i>	Z.	Originally earmarked for Amsterdam
1767	<i>Margaretha Maria</i>	H.E.	
1768	<i>Woestduijn</i>	A.	
1768	<i>Jonge Thomas</i>	A.	
1768	<i>Willem de Vijfde</i>	Z.	
1768	<i>Pauw</i>	R.D.	
1769	<i>'t Loo</i>	A.	
1769	<i>Oud Haarlem</i>	A.	
1769	<i>Oost Capelle</i>	Z.	
1769	<i>Den Tempel</i>	R.D.	
1770	<i>Willem de Vijfde</i>	A.	
1770	<i>Princes van Oranje</i>	A.	
1770	<i>Bodt</i>	Z.	
1770	<i>Jonge Hellingman</i>	H.E.	
1770	<i>Burgh</i>		For Japan; driven to Canton by gale, returns to Batavia.
1771	<i>Oud Haarlem</i>	Z.	Originally earmarked for Amsterdam
1771	<i>'t Loo</i>	A.	
1771	<i>Oost Cappelle</i>	A.	Originally earmarked for Zeeland
1771	<i>Het Lam</i>	H.E.	Replaces the <i>Vreedejaar</i> from Batavia The <i>Vreedejaar</i> lost on the outward voyage.
1772	<i>Veldboen</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Honcoop</i> from Batavia
1772	<i>Princes van Oranje</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Groenendaal</i> from Batavia
1772	<i>Bodt</i>	Z.	Replaces the <i>Willem de Vijfde</i> from Batavia



Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1772	<i>Herstelder</i>	R.D.	Replaces the lost <i>Rijnsburgh</i> ; bought in Macao. The <i>Rijnsburgh</i> replaces the <i>Paauw</i> from Batavia, but is lost off the Chinese coast.
1773	<i>Holland</i>	A.	
1773	<i>Voorberg</i>	A.	
1773	<i>Europa</i>	Z.	
1773	<i>Jonge Hellingman</i>	R.	Replaces the <i>Juno</i> from Batavia
1774	<i>Vrijheid</i>	A.	
1774	<i>Ceres</i>	Z.	
1774	<i>Oost Capelle</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Mars</i> from Batavia
1774	<i>Beemster Welwaren</i>	H.E.	Replaces the <i>Vreedenhoff</i> from Batavia
1775	<i>Indiaan</i>	A.	
1775	<i>Morgenster</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Huijs te Spijk</i> from Batavia
1775	<i>Europa</i>	Z.	
1775	<i>Jonge Hugo</i>	H.E.	
1775	<i>Bleijenburg</i>		For Japan; puts into Canton because of damage; repaired; returns to Batavia.
1776	<i>Triton</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Mentor</i> from Batavia
1776	<i>Block</i>	Z.	
1776	<i>Ceres</i>	A.	
1776	<i>Buijtenleven</i>	D.	
1777	<i>Zeepaard</i>	A.	
1777	<i>Ganges</i>	A.	
1777	<i>Overduijn</i>	Z.	
1777	<i>Canaän</i>	R.	
1778	<i>Dolphijn</i>	A.	
1778	<i>Vreedenhoff</i>	A.	Lost on the homeward voyage
1778	<i>Zeeuw</i>	Z.	
1778	<i>Abbekerke</i>	H.	Lost on the homeward voyage
1779	<i>Block</i>	Z.	
1779	<i>Zeeploeg</i>	A.	Lost in the Sunda Straits on the homeward voyage
1779	<i>Voorberg</i>	A.	
1779	<i>Java</i>	E.	
1780	<i>Honcoop</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Dolphijn</i> from Batavia; captured by the English in Saldanha Bay on the homeward voyage.
1780	<i>Hoog Carspel</i>	D.	Replaces the <i>Batavia</i> from Batavia; captured by the English in Saldanha Bay on the homeward voyage; part of cargo nonetheless sold in Delft in 1783.
1780	<i>Paerl</i>	A.	Captured by the English in Saldanha Bay on the homeward voyage.
1780	<i>Middelburgh</i>	Z.	Set fire to and sunk in Saldanha Bay on the homeward voyage.
1781	<i>Goede Hoop</i>	B.	Private ship The <i>Trompenburg</i> (A.), <i>Diamant</i> (A.) and <i>Slot ter Hooge</i> (Z.) kept behind in Batavia The <i>Catharina Wilhelmina</i> (R.) captured by the English on the outward voyage
1782			No Dutch East India Company ships in Canton

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1783	<i>Potsdam</i>	A.	Hired by the Chamber; sails under Prussian flag.
1783	<i>Breslau</i>	Z.	Hired by the Chamber; sails under Prussian flag; lost off Boulogne on the homeward voyage. The <i>Ooster Eems</i> , also hired and sailing under Prussian flag, lost on 'the Heads' on the outward voyage.
1784	<i>Draak</i>	A.	
1784	<i>Brederode</i>	A.	Lost off Cape Angulhas on the homeward voyage.
1784	<i>Berckhout</i>	H.	
1784	<i>Gouv. Gen. de Klerk</i>	Z.	
			The hired <i>Comtesse du Nord</i> kept behind in Batavia. The hired <i>Empereur du Roi</i> kept behind in Batavia.
1785	<i>Voorschoten</i>	A.	
1785	<i>Pollux</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Slot ter Hooge</i> from Batavia
1785	<i>Barbestijn</i>	Z.	
1785	<i>Africaan</i>	E.	Cargo sold in 1787
1786	<i>Zoutman</i>	A.	
1786	<i>Beverwijk</i>	A.	
1786	<i>Gouv. Gen. de Klerk</i>	Z.	
1786	<i>Horssen</i>	D.	
1786	<i>Vreedenburg</i>	A.	
1786			The <i>Ganges</i> (Z.) lost on the outward voyage
1787	<i>Neerlands Welvaren</i>	A.	
1787	<i>Admiraal de Suffren</i>	A.	Lost in the China Sea on the homeward voyage.
1787	<i>Voorschoten</i>	A.	Returns to the Netherlands in 1789
1787	<i>Barbestijn</i>	Z.	Returns to the Netherlands in 1789. The <i>Middelwijk</i> (Z.) replaces the <i>St. Laurens</i> from Batavia; lost in the China Sea on the homeward voyage.
1787	<i>Canton</i>	R.	
1788	<i>Generaal Maatsuijker</i>	A.	
1788	<i>Leijden</i>	A.	
1788	<i>Goede Trouw</i>	Z.	
1788	<i>Blitterswijk</i>	H.	
			The <i>Beverwijk</i> (A.) and <i>Dregterland</i> (H.) kept behind in Batavia.
1789	<i>Meerwijk</i>	A.	
1789	<i>Christoffel Columbus</i>	A.	
1789	<i>Maria Cornelia</i>	Z.	Originally earmarked for Enkhuizen
1789	<i>Schagen</i>	E.	Originally earmarked for Hoorn
1789	<i>Delft</i>	D.	
			The <i>Doggersbank</i> (A.) sails to Malacca by mistake. The <i>Zuiderburgh</i> kept behind in Batavia.
1790	<i>Vasco da Gama</i>	A.	
1790	<i>Alblasserdam</i>	B.	
1790	<i>Hercules</i>	B.	Private ship.
			The <i>Canton</i> (A.) lost in the China sea on the outward voyage.
1791	<i>Alblasserdam</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Erfprins</i> from Batavia
1791	<i>Blitterswijk</i>	Z.	Replaces the <i>Meerwijk</i> from Batavia

Year	Name of ship	Chamber	Other details
1792	<i>Roozenburgh</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>West Cappelé</i> from Batavia; returns to the Netherlands in 1794
1792	<i>Suijderburgh</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Buijten Verwachting</i> from Batavia; remains in Canton until 1793
1792	<i>Oosthuyzen</i>	H.	
1792	<i>Zeeland</i>	Z.	Replaces the <i>Unie</i> ; runs aground on Cape of Goop Hope on homeward voyage; cargo taken over by the <i>Drechterland</i> and sold in 1794.
1793	<i>Nagelboom</i>	A.	Confiscated by the English on the homeward voyage
1793	<i>Suijderburgh</i>	A.	Remained behind in Canton from previous year; confiscated by the English on the homeward voyage.
1793	<i>Schelde</i>	Z.	Confiscated by the English on the homeward voyage. The <i>Blitterswijk</i> , <i>Enkhuijzer Maagd</i> and <i>Christophorus Columbus</i> kept behind in Batavia.
1794	<i>Generaal Washington</i>	A.	Diverted to Norway on homeward voyage.
1794	<i>Swaan</i>	A.	Replaces the <i>Hertog van Brunswijk</i> from Batavia; diverted to Norway on homeward voyage.
1794	<i>Zeelelij</i>	Z.	Confiscated by the English on the homeward voyage
1794	<i>Siam</i>	D.	Diverted to Norway on the homeward voyage.
1795			The <i>Prins Frederik</i> (A.), <i>Oosthuyzen</i> (A.), <i>Voorland</i> (Z.), and <i>Nieuwland</i> (R.) kept behind in Batavia.

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## Appendix 2

### *Dutch East India Company personnel in Canton, 1729–94*

In the following survey are given the names of the directors, supercargos and assistants who traded in Canton. They are listed in order of rank: first the director, principal or first supercargo, then the second, third, fourth and other supercargos, their place in the hierarchy being indicated by a number, and finally the assistants.

Bookkeepers, medical orderlies, stewards and sergeants are not included here, since although their names do sometimes occur in the records, they are often not mentioned.

First names, where known, are given in full when someone is mentioned for the first time, but after that only the initials are used. The spellings given are those that most commonly occur.

If a member of the staff died on the outward voyage or in Canton, this is indicated by (†). Deaths on the homeward voyage are not indicated.

This list is an extended and improved version of the incomplete list of the factory's personnel by J. L. Parani, which is included in the Inventory of the archives of the Dutch factory at Canton (National Archives, The Hague 1972).

- 1729 Joan de Jongh (1), Willem Sweerts (2), Cornelis Obreen (3).
- 1730 Gerard de Bock (1), M. A. del Borgo (2), Hendrik Perfect (3), R. Hoogh (4).
- 1731 for Amsterdam: Sergius Swellengrebel (1), Jan van Buuren (1), Hendrik Stuwerd (2), Jan Lucas Pasch (2), Rudolphus Noortdijck (3), Jacob van den Brink (3);  
for Zeeland: Adrianus Clemens (1) (†), Godlieb Ernst Brandt (2), Marcus Holst (3).
- 1732 Jan Schull (1), Abraham Toussain (1), Hendrik Smit (2), Jan Verkolje Nicolaesz (2), Herman Holthuijzen (3), Jan Hendrik Gravia (3).
- 1733 for Amsterdam: J. L. Pasch (1), Jacobus van den Brink (1), Jan Carel Rosthuijzen (2), E. G. van Soest (2), Daniël Armenault (3), E. Schrader (3), C. van der Hoop (4), J. de Haan (4), Lambertus Zwaan;  
for Zeeland: Andries Boele (1), Willem Ketelaar (1), Daniël Ameneau (2), Jacobus Crampagne, Jan Winkler.
- 1734 H. Holthuijzen (1), J. Verkolje Nicolaesz (1) (†), Herman Smith (2), Sophonias Kruger (3).
- 1735 Johannes Wichman (1) (†), Henry Abbis (2), Isaäc Dias da Fonseca (3).
- 1736 H. Abbis (1), Pieter Valk (2), Vicent van Wingerden (3).
- 1737 Christoffel de Marre (1), David Brouwer (2), Jan van Rijkevorsel (3).
- 1738 C. de Marre (1), David Brouwer (2), J. van Rijkevorsel (3).
- 1739 H. Abbis (1), John Archer (2), Philip Andreas van der Goes (3).
- 1740 C. de Marre (1), D. Brouwer (2), J. van Rijkevorsel (3).

- 1741 J. Archer (1), Reijnhard Johan Wiltens (2), P. A. van der Goes (3).
- 1742 C. de Marre (1), D. Brouwer (2), Jacob Akersloot (3).
- 1743 J. Archer (1), J. Akersloot (2), Adriaan van Reverhorst (3).
- 1744 J. Archer (1), Warmond van Maneil (2), A. van Reverhorst (3).
- 1745 J. Archer (1), A. van Reverhorst (2).
- 1746 J. Akersloot (1), A. van Reverhorst (2), Frans Gostlin (3).
- 1747 Gerard Cluijsenaar (1), Abraham Loofs (2), F. Gostlin (3), Frederik van Knipphausen (4).
- 1748 J. Akersloot (1), A. van Reverhorst (2), F. Gostlin (3), Carel Godin (4).
- 1749 Jan Louis de Win (1) (†), Abraham Loofs (2), Abraham Haganaeus (3), Reinier Toussain (4), Daniël Armenault Jr. (5), Frederik Christiaan Roemer (6).
- 1750 Gajlard Roberts (1), R. Toussain (2), F. C. Roemer (3), Jan Oldenzeel (4), Ernst Louis Temminck (5), Josias Hollebeek (6) (†).
- 1751 G. Roberts (1) (†), R. Toussain (1), D. Armenault Jr. (2), F. C. Roemer (3), J. Oldenzeel (4), E. L. Temminck (5), Mattheus Bordels (6), Pieter Jan Bangeman Jr. (7).
- 1752 Roeland Blok (dir.), Abraham Loofs (1), R. Toussain (2), Eyso de Wendt (3), D. Armenault Jr. (4), J. Oldenzeel, M. Bordels, P. J. Bangeman, Rudolph Strik, Jan Brand.
- 1753 R. Blok (dir.), E. de Wendt (1), D. Armenault (2), M. Bordels (3), P. J. Bangeman (4), Fredericus Benedictus Brand, Jan Bosman, Willem Dirk van der Waaijen, Hugo van der Looij, Frederik Willem Baron van Nieuwerkerken called Nieuwenheim, David Kien, Carel van Ludicq.
- 1754 E. de Wendt (dir.), D. Armenault (1), M. Bordels (2), P. J. Bangeman (3), F. B. Brandt (4), H. van der Looij, F. W. van Nieuwerkerken, D. Kien, C. van Ludicq, Dionisius P. Gajlard Robbertsz, François Tolozan de la Madeleine.
- 1755 E. de Wendt (dir.), M. Bordels (1), P. J. Bangeman (2), F. B. Brand (3), H. van der Looij (4) (†), D. Kien (4), F. W. van Nieuwerkerken (5) (†), D. P. G. Robbertsz, D. Armenault, C. van Ludicq (†), B. Helmers, F. W. H. van Blijdenberg, A. Boonen, W. Pauw.
- 1756 E. de Wendt (dir.), M. Bordels (1), P. J. Bangeman (2), F. B. Brand (3), D. P. G. Robbertsz, F. Tolozan de la Madeleine, F. W. H. van Blijdenberg, A. Boonen, B. Helmers, B. Karsseboom, J. van den Bolder, A. Cramers, E. Boersse.
- 1757 Jan van der Hoeven (1), J. H. van den Burgh (2), Jan Hendrik Knibbe (3).
- 1758 Michael Graae (Principal and 1), Martin Wilhelm Hulle (2), Johan Benedict Schartow (3), Frederik Megander (4), E. Genits (5), J. Mooijaart, D. Taillefert.
- 1759 Arthur Abercromby (Principal and 1), Anthoni François l'Heureux (2), C. van Karnebeek (3), (†), Johan Christiaan Steeger (4), Pieter Kintsius, Andreas Everhardus van Braam Houckgeest.
- 1760 W. M. Hulle (Principal and 1), F. Megander (2), C. W. Stisser (3), J. B. Schartow (4), P. J. Bangeman (5), Jan Willem Spliethoff, P. Rocquette, J. J. Teschemacher, Jan van den Berg, Isaïc Guitard.
- 1761 A. F. l'Heureux (1), J. C. Steeger (2), Jan Stuart (3), Lodewijk Middendorp (4) (†), Lodewijk Schermer (5), Hendrik Klinkert, François Hélène, François Manry (†).
- 1762 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), C. W. Stisser (2), J. B. Schartow (3), Gottlieb Wilhelm Meesenberg (4), J. W. Spliethoff, J. J. Teschemacher, I. Guitard, J. P. J. Texier, P. Roquette, A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, P. Kintsius, J. Kranewitter (†).
- 1763 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), A. F. l'Heureux (2), J. B. Schartow (3), J. C. Steeger (4), Jan Stuart (5), G. W. Meesenberg (6), J. W. Spliethoff (7), F. Hélène, H. Klinkert, J. J. Teschemacher, P. J. Texier, Jan van den Berg, Andreas Matthias l'Heureux.
- 1764 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), A. F. l'Heureux (2), C. W. Stisser (3), J. C. Steeger (4), J. W. Spliethoff (5), Jacob Karsseboom (6), J. P. Texier, P. Kintsius, P. R. Schellewaard, I. Guitard, N. Wijnberg.
- 1765 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), A. F. l'Heureux (2), J. C. Steeger (3), J. Karsseboom (4), J. B. Schartow (5), G. W. Meesenberg (6), P. Kintsius, I. Guitard, Phillip Roquette, J. van den Berg, F. Hélène, Hendrik Klinkert.
- 1766 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), A. F. l'Heureux (2), Jan Stuart (3) (†), J. B. Schartow (3), G. W. Meesenberg (4) (†), J. Karsseboom (5), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (6), J. Teschemacher (†), P. Roquette, H. Klinkert, Nanning Wijnberg.
- 1767 M. W. Hulle (Principal and 1), A. F. l'Heureux (2), J. B. Schartow (3), J. C. Steeger (4), J. W. Spliethoff (5), J. Karsseboom (6), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (7), P. Kintsius, J. van den Berg, H. Klinkert, F. Hélène, N. Wijnberg, Eduard Christiaan Arends, Egbert van Karnebeek, Sebastiaan Klinkert, Jan Hendrik Rijnnach.
- 1768 A. F. l'Heureux (Principal and 1), J. C. Steeger (2), J. Karsseboom (3), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest

- (4), I. Guitard, J. van den Berg, F. Hélène (†), Jacob Paulus Certon.
- 1769 A. F. l'Heureux (Principal and 1), J. C. Steeger (2), J. Karsseboom (3), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (4), P. Kintsius (5), I. Guitard, J. van den Berg, H. Klinkert, J. P. Certon, E. van Karnebeek, E. C. Arends.
- 1770 A. F. l'Heureux (Principal and 1), J. C. Steeger (2), J. Karsseboom (3), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (4), J. van den Berg, H. Klinkert, J. H. Rijnnach, Ulrich Gualterius Hemmingson, D. A. Teschemacher.
- 1771 A. F. l'Heureux (dir.), J. Karsseboom (1), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (2), P. Kintius (3), I. Guitard (†), J. van den Berg, H. Klinkert, J. P. Certon, U. G. Hemmingson.
- 1772 A. F. l'Heureux (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (2), J. van den Berg, D. A. Teschemacher, J. H. Rijnnach (†), J. P. Certon, E. van Karnebeek, H. Klinkert.
- 1773 A. F. l'Heureux (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), J. van den Berg (2), Sebastiaan Klinkert, E. van Karnebeek, J. P. Certon, U. G. Hemmingson, Johan Hendrik Alphusius.
- 1774 A. F. l'Heureux (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), J. van den Berg (2), H. Klinkert (3), J. P. Certon, U. G. Hemmingson, J. H. Alphusius.
- 1775 A. F. l'Heureux (dir.), (†), P. Kintsius (1), J. van den Berg (2), H. Klinkert (3), J. P. Certon, U. G. Hemmingson, J. H. Alphusius.
- 1776 Jan Elin (dir.) (†), P. Kintsius (1), J. van den Berg (2), H. Klinkert (3), E. van Karnebeek (4), J. P. Certon, S. Klinkert, U. G. Hemmingson, Booy Kuiper.
- 1777 P. Kintsius (1), J. van den Berg (2), H. Klinkert (3), E. van Karnebeek (4), J. P. Certon, S. Klinkert, J. H. Alphusius (†), B. Kuiper.
- 1778 P. Kintsius (1), H. Klinkert, E. van Karnebeek, J. P. Certon (4), B. Kuiper, U. G. Hemmingson, L. Serrurier.
- 1779 Cornelis Heijligendorp (Principal and 1), P. Kintsius (2), H. Klinkert (3), E. van Karnebeek (4), J. P. Certon (5), U. G. Hemmingson (6), L. Serrurier, J. J. Rhenius, A. A. Boers,
- 1780 C. Heijligendorp (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), E. van Karnebeek (2), J. P. Certon (3), S. Klinkert (4), U. G. Hemmingson (5), L. Serrurier, F. Benthem, J. J. Rhenius.
- 1781 C. Heijligendorp (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), J. P. Certon (2), S. Klinkert (3), U. G. Hemmingson (4), L. Serrurier, F. Benthem, J. J. Rhenius, Johannes Nebbens, J. J. Idemans.
- 1782 C. Heijligendorp (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), S. Klinkert (2), U. G. Hemmingson (3), L. Serrurier, F. Benthem, J. J. Rhenius, J. Nebbens, J. J. Idemans.
- 1783 C. Heijligendorp (dir.), P. Kintsius (1), S. Klinkert (2), E. van Karnebeek (3), U. G. Hemmingson (4), L. Serrurier (5), F. Benthem, J. J. Rhenius, J. Nebbens, J. J. Idemans.
- 1784 P. Kintsius (dir.), H. Klinkert (1), E. van Karnebeek (2), S. Klinkert (3) (†), L. Serrurier (4), F. Benthem, J. J. Rhenius, A. A. Boers, J. Nebbens, J. J. Idemans, Willem in 't Anker, Roelof Jacob Dozij, Laurens Lund.
- 1785 P. Kintsius (dir.), H. Klinkert (1), E. van Klarenbeek (2) (†), L. Serrurier (3), A. A. Boers, J. Nebbens, J. J. Idemans, W. in 't Anker, R. J. Dozij, L. Lund.
- 1786 P. Kintsius (dir.) (†), U. G. Hemmingson (1), L. Serrurier (2), F. Benthem (3), A. A. Boers (4), J. Nebbens, J. J. Idemans, R. J. Dozij, L. Lund.
- 1787 U. G. Hemmingson (1), L. Serrurier (2), F. Benthem (3), A. A. Boers (4), J. J. Idemans, R. J. Dozij, L. Lund (†), M. Nolthenius, Jean Henry Rabinel.
- 1788 U. G. Hemmingson (1), F. Benthem (2), R. J. Dozij (3), M. Nolthenius, J. H. Rabinel, Willem Tros, G. Schouten.
- 1789 U. G. Hemmingson (1), F. Benthem (2), R. J. Dozij (3), M. Nolthenius, J. H. Rabinel, W. Tros, Johannes Arend de Melander, Elbert Lucas Steijn, Jan Bekker Teerlinck.
- 1790 U. G. Hemmingson (dir.), A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (1), F. Benthem (2), M. Nolthenius (3), W. Tros, J. A. de Melander, E. L. Steijn, J. Bekker Teerlinck.
- 1791 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (dir.), F. Benthem (1), W. Tros, J. A. de Melander, E. L. Steijn, J. Bekker Teerlinck.
- 1792 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (dir.), R. J. Dozij (1), J. H. Rabinel (2), J. A. de Melander, E. L. Steijn, J. Bekker Teerlinck, J. H. Bletterman.
- 1793 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (dir.), R. J. Dozij (1), J. H. Rabinel (2), E. L. Steijn, J. Bekker Teerlinck, J. H. Bletterman.
- 1794 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest (dir.), R. J. Dozij (1), J. H. Rabinel (2), C. C. Bagman (3), J. H. Bletterman, Jacob Andreas van Braam, E. L. Steijn, Bernardus Zeeman.

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## Appendix 3

### *Inventory of the factory in 1755*

‘Report on silverwork, office equipment and unvalued goods’.

In compliance with the written order of His Honour the Gentleman Director we, the undersigned, as delegates for the purpose have gone into the Worshipful Company’s small strongroom and made an exact list there, at the same time checking all such silverwork, office equipment and unvalued goods, these last consisting of brass, pewter and ironwork, as was in very truth to be found there today.

51 pieces of silverwork, including 24 sets of spoons and forks and 3 soup ladles.

13 pieces of office equipment, viz.

- 1 silver seal in His Honour the Gentleman Director’s room
- 8 lead inkwells,
  - 4 in the secretary’s office
  - 4 in the commercial office
- 4 wooden sandboxes,
  - 2 in the secretary’s office
  - 4 in the commercial office

94 pieces of furniture, namely

- 1 rice-pounder in the steward’s quarters
- 1 green tablecloth for prayers and the meeting room, in the Gentleman Director’s room
- 6 wooden dining tables
- 2 wooden dining tables with 2 supports and semicircular leaves
- 2 mandarin’s tables

- 1 square table
- 1 circular folding table
- 1 writing table, in His Honour the Director’s room
- 2 writing-desks,
  - 1 in the secretary’s office
  - 1 in the commercial office
- 2 bookcases,
  - 1 in the secretary’s office
  - 1 in the commercial office
- 2 benches for the second and third rooms
- 36 square armchairs
- 12 round armchairs, viz.
  - 4 in the secretary’s office
  - 8 in the commercial office
- 5 store-cupboards, namely,
  - 1 in the Gentleman Director’s room
  - 1 in Mr. Bordels’ room
  - 1 in Mr. Bangeman’s room
  - 1 in Mr. Brandt’s room
  - 1 in Mr. van der Looij’s room
- 2 food cupboards
- 2 buffet cupboards
  - 2 cook’s cupboards
- 11 chairs of common wood
- 95 copper objects, all in the steward’s quarters, namely
  - 3 rings with their dishes
  - 2 soup ladles
  - 4 serving spoons
  - 24 spoons
  - 22 forks
  - 10 candlesticks
    - 1 snuffer and tray
  - 1 mould
  - 1 funnel
  - 2 gongs

- 2 soup kettles in sort
- 7 saucepans
- 1 stewpan
- 1 pattypan
- 1 griddle
- 1 skimmer
- defective:
  - 1 stewpan
  - 1 fork
  - 1 pattypan
  - 1 casserole
  - 1 caketin
  - 1 mug
  - 2 larding-needles
  - 1 siphon
- missing:
  - 3 gingerbread moulds
- 13 pewter objects, viz.
  - 3 water basins belonging to the buffet cupboards
  - 6 hollow chafing dishes
  - 4 pierced plates to put fish on
  - 1 inkwell (missing)
- 113 pieces of ironwork, all in the steward's quarters, viz:
  - 2 incised branding irons
  - 24 knives
  - 24 forks
  - 2 choppers
  - 2 gingerbread moulds
  - 2 spits
  - 1 ladle
  - 3 gridirons
  - 4 trivets or tripods
  - 1 punch
  - 1 iron hook for the weighing for the mandarins
  - 2 tinned rings
  - 2 English fireplaces,
    - 1 in the secretary's office
    - 1 in the commercial office
  - 2 fire-shovels
  - 13 table knives (defective)
  - 24 forks (defective)
  - 3 choppers (defective)
  - 1 gingerbread mould (defective)

In the Commercial Warehouses

- 6 iron melting pots

- 1 fire extinguisher with its appurtenances
- 69 items of warehouses equipment, comprising
  - 3 wooden trestles
  - 1 wooden trestle for the coin scales
- 24 fire buckets
- 24 wooden parcel racks
- 11 wooden wineracks
- 2 ladders
- 2 flagpoles
- 2 poles
- 9 iron balances and scales
- 80 brass weights

In the Commercial office

- 18 commercial daybooks
- 9 commercial ledgers
- 2 books with incoming invoices
- 3 books with outgoing invoices
- 2 books with bills of lading
- 2 books with incoming claims
- 1 book with outgoing claims
- 4 books with settled claims
- 1 book with received and settled claims
- 1 book with various running returns
- 3 commercial appendices
- 6 domestic account or expense books
- 12 tea unpacking books
- 13 porcelain unpacking books
  - papers concerning the voyage between Surat and Canton

In the Secretary's office

- 231 seals
- 4 instruction books
  - 1 book with incoming letters from the Indies
  - 2 books with outgoing letters to the Netherlands
- Outgoing Indies letterbooks
- Original resolutions
- Report books
- Licence books
- 13 daybooks
- Protocol books
- Judicial Papers'

(Signed: M. Bordels and P. J. Bangemans, supercargos.  
Dated 26 June 1755. Source: Arch. Canton 213).



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## Appendix 4

### *Financial survey of the trade in Canton and the profits on the return shipments in the Netherlands, 1729–34.*

It is only possible to give a complete survey for the Amsterdam ships, the daybooks and ledgers of the Amsterdam Chamber, V.O.C. 7150–1 and 7177–8, being particularly valuable here.

By ‘year’ is meant the year in which the trading was done in Canton. The goods bought then were sold a year later in Amsterdam. The value of the goods carried to Canton is given in both the ledgers and the daybooks of the factory (V.O.C. 4374 - 4379). The money made on those goods constituted the trading capital and the profits accruing from them were deducted from the costs of the trading and stay in Canton. The trading capital minus the costs was expended on the buying in of the return shipments, the value of which is given in the factory’s account books and shipping invoices.

For the proceeds of the sales the figures in the ledgers have been adhered to. The same proceeds are in fact also given in V.O.C. 4592

(‘General Statements’) and V.O.C. 6989 (‘Collocation of the Sales’), albeit slight discrepancies do occur there on account of differences in calculation (see also Appendix 6). The net profits are given in the ledgers, a source that was also used by the Company’s advocate, N. Hartman, when he drew up his memorandum for William IV (see p. 29), Hope Coll. No. 8471. The total costs – the difference between the gross and net profits – comprised the costs in Canton plus the costs of fitting out the ships, as given in the ledgers. In the case of the *Noord Wolfsbergen*, however, the total costs are given, but in brackets, because the costs in Canton are not known. The last column gives the percentage of the net profits in respect of the ‘cargasons’ sent out (capital plus goods).

Unfortunately, far less information is available about the Zeeland ships, since neither the ledgers of the Chamber, nor the trade reports from Canton have survived. The figures regarding the purchase prices of the return shipments are taken from Hope Coll., No. 8403, the proceeds on the sales from V.O.C. 4592 (‘General Statements’).

Year/ name of ship	Purchase price of cargo for Canton	Proceeds on sale of cargo in Canton	Costs of trading and stay in Canton	Purchase price of return shipment	Proceeds on sale of return shipment	Gross profits	Costs of fitting out ship	Net profits	Net profits in relation to cargo sent out
	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	%
1729									
<i>Coxhorn</i>	307,451	308,496	22,549	284,902	708,968	424,066	77,044	324,473	106.4
1730									
<i>Duijffje</i>	257,394	257,968	22,462	234,932	545,839	310,907	76,269	212,176	82.6
1731									
<i>Coxhorn</i>   <i>Leijduin</i>	570,522	572,364	45,589	524,933	1,143,442	618,509	149,805	423,115	74.6
<i>Nieuwliet</i>				303,261	644,634	341,373			
1732									
<i>Knappenb.</i>   <i>Ypenroode</i>	609,212	609,767	46,590	562,622	1,237,515	674,893	185,769	442,534	73.0
1733									
<i>Voorduin</i>   <i>Leijduin</i>	475,988	486,473	27,639	448,349	1,239,037	790,688	197,499	565,550	119.0
<i>Anna Cath.</i>   <i>Nieuwliet</i>				540,810	1,355,610	814,800			
1734									
<i>N. Wolfsb.</i>	304,449			304,450	752,693	448,243	(90,796)	357,448	117.6

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## Appendix 5

### *Financial survey of the trade in Canton, 1736–56*

In the following table are given the figures regarding the Dutch East India Company's China trade under the direction of Batavia. 'Year' indicates the year in which the trading was done in Canton. The goods carried there include goods sent from the Netherlands for China as well as those taken on board in Batavia. The sales figures, not given here, can be calculated by adding the gross profits to the value of the goods carried to Canton. Since the supercargos also carefully specified the trading costs in their reports, the net profits can also be calculated, but it must be remembered here that while these costs include the expenses of the stay, the salaries of the personnel, trading costs, factory rent, etc. they do not include the costs of transport to Canton and depreciation on ships. The trading capital, a given factor in the

supercargo's financial records, was composed of the value of the goods brought in, plus the net profits and any capital that may have remained over from the previous trading season. It was used to pay for goods meant for both the Netherlands and Batavia (for the specification of the goods for the Netherlands see Appendix 8). The whole of the capital was not always used for this, for a reserve was sometimes kept for the following year and this could consist, among other things, of loans from Chinese merchants or advance payments.

All the amounts have, where necessary, been converted into 'heavy' money. The sources used were the day books and ledgers of the factory, the trade reports – in particular the financial statements and the summaries of these in the papers of the *Haagsch Besogne* – and the shipping invoices. The statistics relating to the regular service between Canton and Surat have been left out of account here.

Year	Value of goods taken to Canton	Gross profits on sales in Canton	Costs of stay and trading	Net profits on sales	Net profits	Trading Capital	Value of return shipments for Netherlands and Batavia (total)
	fl.	fl.	fl.	fl.	%	fl.	fl.
1735 (the figures for this year are not known in full)							
1736	637,578	239,475	66,863	172,612	27.1	822,571	720,961
1737	503,275	247,263	77,284	169,979	33.8	774,866	762,627
1738	443,739	197,035	53,111	143,924	32.4	587,663	587,553
1739	949,262	304,062	71,402	232,660	24.5	1,181,921	1,181,782
1740	1,405,062	384,393	64,451	319,942	22.8	1,725,004	1,416,384
1741	384,869	304,092	61,355	242,737	63.1	1,101,149	933,899
1742	1,049,880	460,832	77,941	382,891	36.5	1,500,022	1,500,022
1743	812,139	505,772	67,712	438,060	54.0	1,250,199	1,250,199
1744	1,041,148	462,463	111,202	351,261	33.7	1,392,410	1,194,984
1745	635,081	512,397	106,374	406,023	64.0	1,238,530	1,223,207
1746	770,049	681,845	116,290	565,555	73.5	1,351,674	1,351,624
1747	1,004,983	857,361	169,255	688,106	68.5	1,817,027	1,294,231
1748	872,076	670,933	144,162	526,771	60.1	1,485,929	1,450,207
1749	937,707	483,682	112,290	371,392	40.0	1,522,131	1,462,734
1750	1,238,504	860,278	148,221	712,057	57.5	2,231,149	1,538,912
1751	1,832,818	560,180	159,353	400,827	21.9	3,136,271	2,061,854
1752	1,184,092	777,472	127,212	650,260	54.9	3,356,094	2,537,142
1753	1,799,340	658,384	124,341	534,043	29.7	3,849,824	3,453,060
1754	3,074,762	901,490	123,343	778,147	25.3	4,997,461	4,110,761
1755	2,080,614	505,979	96,401	409,578	19.7	3,852,080	3,254,526
1756	1,403,016	440,204	105,962	334,242	23.8	2,752,858	2,643,943

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## Appendix 6

### *Gross profits on the return cargos shipped direct to the Netherlands from Canton, 1729–92*

By ‘Year’ is meant the year in which the trading was done in Canton. The figures for all the ships are known for the most part, but for a number of years one has to be satisfied with the figures for only a few ships, which are mentioned by name in the notes. In 1735, 1781 and 1782 no ships could be sent direct to the Netherlands; in 1741 the return ship sank; in 1793 and 1794 the return shipments reached the Netherlands either much later or not at all and any proceeds on their sales are unknown.

The purchase prices are taken from the day books of the factory, the trade reports and invoices for the years in question. These figures include the 2% that could be allowed for costs (see Chapter I, note 100). Information regarding the proceeds on the sales could be obtained in part from V.O.C. 6989, ‘Collocation of the Sales’, in which the return shipments from China for the period 1729–58 are specified separately. No such consecutive source is available for the years after that. V.O.C. 4592-7,

‘General Statements’, only gives specifications for the Northern and Southern Quarters, but it is sometimes also possible, by comparing these with the bills of lading, to separate out the returns on the shipments from China for Amsterdam and Zeeland from the total of all the goods sold. In addition, all sorts of other records have been used, which are specified in the notes. Sometimes detailed ‘Rendement lists’ were available, sometimes only a note about the total returns on a shipload. The statistics given here relate to those ships that really did arrive back in the Netherlands, *i.e.* those wrecked on the homeward voyage are not included. Sometimes a shipment was sold later than usual, but as far as possible this has been noted under the year in which the goods were purchased in Canton. Cases of this sort are indicated in the notes. All the amounts have been converted into Holland guilders. In the case of the Zeeland pound, according to V.O.C. 4592-7, an exchange rate of £1 = H.fl. 6 was used, while the Chinese tael was converted as described in Chapter I (notes 54, 95, 97 and 120). Compare Appendix 8 for the purchase prices of the return shipments and Appendix 4 for the proceeds on the sales for the period 1729–34.

Year	Purchase price of return shipment	Proceeds on sale	Gross profits	Gross profits	Sources for proceeds on sales and other details (notes)
	fl.	fl.	fl.	%	
1729	284,902	708,968	424,066	149.0	1
1730	234,932	545,839	310,907	132.4	1
1731	828,194	1,808,076	959,882	116.0	1/2
1732	562,622	1,237,515	674,893	120.0	1
1733	989,159	2,594,671	1,605,512	162.3	1/2
1734	304,450	752,693	448,243	147.3	1/3
1735 no direct return					
1736	365,036	608,412	243,376	66.6	4
1737	597,281	1,281,426	684,145	114.9	4
1738	393,732	680,728	286,996	73.0	4
1739	525,983	897,253	371,270	70.9	4
1740	1,075,000	1,809,372	734,372	68.5	4
1741 return ship lost on homeward voyage					
1742	1,043,334	1,744,928	701,594	67.6	4
1743	906,135	2,041,279	1,135,144	126.6	4/5
1744	995,288	2,098,663	1,103,375	110.9	4/6
1745	1,165,835	2,334,710	1,168,875	101.0	4
1746	1,228,130	2,538,901	1,310,771	107.3	4
1747	1,503,560	2,438,752	935,192	62.5	4
1748	1,327,821	2,364,200	1,036,379	78.1	4
1749	775,154	1,366,498	591,344	76.3	4
1750	1,366,760	2,459,670	1,092,910	80.0	4
1751	655,350	1,324,420	669,070	103.1	4/7
1752	1,990,488	2,956,501	966,013	48.5	4
1753	2,703,229	3,403,309	700,080	25.9	4
1754	3,480,182	3,829,805	349,623	10.1	4
1755	2,623,071	3,445,475	822,404	31.4	4
1756	2,067,312	3,978,783	1,911,471	92.6	4
1757	570,727	1,484,294	913,567	160.3	4
1758	1,195,075	2,993,712	1,798,637	150.6	4
1759	1,883,629	3,818,340	1,934,711	102.8	8/9
1760	1,803,274	4,408,820	2,605,546	144.5	9
1761	1,213,001	2,906,903	1,693,902	139.7	10
1762	1,965,732	4,274,053	2,308,321	117.5	11/12
1763	1,253,503	2,873,678	1,620,175	129.4	12/13
1764	3,360,627	6,455,602	3,094,975	92.2	12/14
1765	2,752,841	4,894,917	2,142,076	77.8	12/15
1766	1,373,676	2,425,749	1,052,073	76.6	12/16
1767	2,434,115	4,558,419	2,124,304	87.3	12/17
1768	2,599,217	4,583,855	1,984,638	76.4	12/18
1769	2,362,553	3,654,480	1,291,927	54.7	19/20
1770	2,405,232	4,620,000	2,214,768	92.2	19/21
1771	2,442,769	5,342,819	2,900,050	118.7	19/22
1772	2,255,148	3,976,631	1,721,483	76.3	19/22/23/
1773	2,299,212	4,077,539	1,778,327	77.4	19/22
1774	2,274,204	3,814,822	1,540,618	67.7	19/24

Year	Purchase price of return shipment	Proceeds on sale	Gross profits	Gross profits	Sources for proceeds on sales and other details (notes)
	fl.	fl.	fl.	%	
1775	2,263,529	3,909,834	1,646,314	72.8	19/25
1776	2,451,597	3,666,312	1,214,715	49.6	19/26
1777	523,825	947,978	424,153	81.0	19/27
1778	754,315	1,533,120	778,805	103.3	19/28
1779	1,876,799	3,909,609	2,032,810	108.3	29/30
1780	508,781	245,802			29/31
1781 and 1782 no returns to the Netherlands					
1783	823,802	1,221,432	397,630	48.3	32/33
1784	2,378,995	4,060,253	1,681,258	70.7	29/33
1785	2,604,895	4,416,194	1,811,299	69.5	29/33
1786	4,538,034	5,478,999	940,965	20.7	29/33
1787	2,075,796	2,240,446	164,650	7.9	29/34
1788	4,039,114	4,413,848	374,734	9.3	29/35
1789	4,327,372	5,038,283	710,911	16.4	36
1790	591,962	734,467	142,505	24.1	33/37
1791	1,534,680	2,668,576	1,133,896	73.9	38
1792	2,269,758	2,511,416	241,658	10.6	39

## Notes to Appendix 6

- 1 V.O.C. 7177 and 7178, Ledgers of the Amsterdam Chamber, 1728–32 and 1732–36. The proceeds on the sales for the period 1729–34 are also mentioned in V.O.C. 6989, ‘Collocation of the Sales’ and V.O.C. 4592, ‘General Statements’. These three sources differ somewhat from each other, because of variations in the calculation of bank-money, interest losses, allowances for damage, etc. V.O.C. 6989 has been adhered to for the Amsterdam ships in order to avoid discrepancies with Appendix 4.
- 2 For the Zeeland ships the purchase prices of the return shipments for the years 1731 and 1733 have been taken from Hope Coll., No. 8403, the proceeds on the sales from V.O.C. 4592.
- 3 The purchase price of the return shipment is mentioned in Hope Coll., No. 8403.
- 4 The proceeds on the sales for the period 1736–58 are taken from V.O.C. 6989 ‘Collocation of the Sales’, where the return shipments are specified separately, something no longer done in the ‘General Statements’ for these years.
- 5 Including the cargo of the *Guntersteijn*, which was sold in 1745.
- 6 Excluding the cargo of the *Guntersteijn*, which is included under 1743.
- 7 Excluding the cargo of the *Geldermalsen*, which was lost on the homeward voyage.
- 8 V.O.C. 4542, Papers of China Committee, 1758.
- 9 V.O.C. 4542, Papers of China Committee, 1759.
- 10 V.O.C. 4548, minutes of China Committee, 5 Oct. 1763.
- 11 V.O.C. 13377 ‘Compilation of Sales’, vol. 6, concerning proceeds on sales in Middelburg.
- 12 V.O.C. 4595, ‘General Statements’ 1760/61–1769/70, concerning proceeds on sales in Amsterdam.
- 13 Arch. Canton 130, no. 37, Returns on the *Westervelt*. The figures for 1763 do not include the cargo of the

- Huijs te Bijweg*, which was sold in 1765 and is included under 1764.
- 14 Including the cargo of the *Huijs te Bijweg*.
  - 15 Hope Coll., No. 8471, Returns on the *Vreedenhof* and *Noord Beveland*; Arch. Canton 277, Returns on the *Pallas*.
  - 16 Arch. Canton 280, no. 20, Returns on the *Nieuw Rhoon*; Hope Coll., No. 8471, Returns on the *Jonge Thomas* and *Jonge Lieve*.
  - 17 Hope Coll., No. 8417, Returns on the four ships.
  - 18 Van Ghesel Coll. no. 62, 'Returns on expedition to China'.
  - 19 V.O.C. 4596, 'General Statements', 1770/71–1779/80.
  - 20 Van Ghesel Coll. no. 64, computation of the super-cargos' bounties, 1770; Arch. Canton 282 A, Returns on the *Oost Cappele*.
  - 21 Van Ghesel Coll. no. 64, computation of the super-cargos' bounties, 1771.
  - 22 V.O.C. 13377, 'Compilation of Sales', vol. 7, 1772–6.
  - 23 Arch. Canton 285, returns on the *Bodt*.
  - 24 Arch. Canton 287, returns on the *Vrijheid*, *Ceres* and *Oost Cappele*.
  - 25 Arch. Canton 286, returns on the *Europa*; Arch. Canton 288, returns on the *Indiaen* and the *Morgenster*.
  - 26 Arch. Canton 151, returns on the *Triton* and *Ceres*; Arch. Canton 289, returns on the *Block*.
  - 27 Concerns the cargo of the *Canaän* only, since not enough is known about the other ships.
  - 28 Concerns the cargo of the *Zeeuw* only. The *Vreedenhoff* and *Abbekerk* were lost on the homeward voyage and not enough is known about the *Dolphijn*.
  - 29 V.O.C. 4597, 'General Statements' 1780/81–1789/90.
  - 30 Arch. Canton 156, returns on the *Voorberg*. Excluding the cargo of the *Zeeploeg*, which was lost on the homeward voyage.
  - 31 Concerns the cargo of the captured *Hoog Carspel* only, part of which was carried to the Netherlands from the Cape in private ships in 1783 and sold in that year.
  - 32 Concerns the cargo of the *Potsdam* only. The *Breslau* was lost on the homeward voyage.
  - 33 V.O.C. 7006, 'Collocation of Sales' of the Amsterdam Chamber 1781–1794/5.
  - 34 Concerns the cargos of the *Canton* and the *Neerlands Welvaren* only. The *Admiraal de Suffren* was lost on the homeward voyage; the *Voorschoten* and *Barbesteyn* did not arrive in the Netherlands until 1789 and not enough is known about the proceeds on the sales of their cargos.
  - 35 V.O.C. 4573, 'computation of the premiums of the clerks' and the total, unspecified, returns on the four ships.
  - 36 V.O.C. 4573, 'computation of the premiums of the clerks'.
  - 37 Arch. Canton 175, returns on the *Vasco da Gama*.
  - 38 V.O.C. 4573, returns on the *Alblasserdam* and *Blitterswijk*.
  - 39 V.O.C. 4573, returns on the *Rosenburgh* and the *Zee-land*, both sold in 1794, and returns on the *Oosthuijzen*. The cargo of the *Zeeland*, which sustained damage, was transferred at the Cape to the *Dregterland* and sold under that name: V.O.C. 7006; Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1901–III-26, returns on the *Oosthuijzen*. Excluding the cargo of the *Suijderburg*, which remained in Canton until 1793–4.



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## Appendix 7

### *Comparison of the proceeds on the sales of the return shipments from China with the total proceeds on the Company's sales, 1730–90*

The total proceeds on the sales are taken from a single source: V.O.C. 4592–4597, 'General Statements' 1730/1–1789/90. G. G. Klerk-de Reus also gives these proceeds in his Appendix

5, albeit he sometimes arrives at different amounts there (see Chapter I, note 154). For the proceeds on the sales of the return shipments from China see Appendix 6. In 1736–7, 1742–3 and 1781–4 no return shipments from China were received in the Netherlands. For the years 1778–80 and 1788–9 not enough is known about the proceeds on the sales.

In contrast to the other appendices, the 'Year' here is the year of the sale in the Netherlands and not that of the trade in Canton.

*Porcelain and the Dutch China trade*

Year of Sale	Total profits from sales	Profits from shipments from China	Returns on China trade as % of total	Year of Sale	Total profits from sales	Profits from shipments from China	Returns on China trade as % of total
	fl.	fl.	%		fl.	fl.	%
1730/31	18,605,390	708,968	3.8	1760/61	18,414,212	3,818,340	20.7
1731/32	15,615,309	545,839	3.5	1761/62	20,299,855	4,408,820	21.7
1732/33	17,883,345	1,808,076	10.1	1762/63	19,920,005	2,906,903	14.6
1733/34	16,275,307	1,237,515	7.6	1763/64	20,054,240	4,274,053	21.3
1734/35	15,969,029	2,594,671	16.2	1764/65	18,999,093	2,873,678	15.1
1735/36	17,691,034	752,693	4.2	1765/66	27,100,413	6,455,602	23.8
1736/37	16,730,428	(no return shipment)		1766/67	25,306,488	4,894,917	19.3
1737/38	14,573,511	608,412	4.2	1767/68	21,317,684	2,425,749	11.4
1738/39	17,590,859	1,281,426	7.3	1768/69	20,289,738	4,558,419	22.5
1739/40	15,728,618	680,728	4.3	1769/70	21,899,605	4,583,855	20.9
1740/41	14,080,481	897,253	6.4	1770/71	19,213,939	3,654,480	19.0
1741/42	14,999,973	1,809,372	12.1	1771/72	21,804,134	4,620,000	21.2
1742/43	12,031,125	(no return shipment)		1772/73	19,739,421	5,342,819	27.1
1743/44	15,097,130	1,744,928	11.6	1773/74	18,833,815	3,976,631	21.1
1744/45	16,926,215	2,041,279	12.1	1774/75	19,375,991	4,077,539	21.0
1745/46	16,735,345	2,098,663	12.5	1775/76	19,851,457	3,814,822	19.2
1746/47	14,482,668	2,334,710	16.1	1776/77	19,518,195	3,909,843	20.0
1747/48	16,106,749	2,538,901	15.7	1777/78	21,219,275	3,666,312	17.3
1748/49	20,480,010	2,438,752	11.9	1778/79	20,166,985	(unknown)	
1749/50	19,062,294	2,364,200	12.4	1779/80	19,201,420	(unknown)	
1750/51	16,670,614	1,366,498	8.2	1780/81	20,905,643	3,909,609	18.7
1751/52	23,133,581	2,459,670	10.6	1781/82	5,914,886	(no return shipment)	
1752/53	17,270,223	1,324,420	7.7	1782/83	7,089,665	(no return shipment)	
1753/54	19,840,766	2,956,501	14.9	1783/84	12,966,220	(no return shipment)	
1754/55	19,196,262	3,403,309	17.7	1784/85	21,753,098	1,221,432	5.6
1755/56	19,890,066	3,829,805	19.3	1785/86	17,556,134	4,060,253	23.1
1756/57	14,829,366	3,445,475	23.2	1786/87	18,847,621	4,416,194	23.4
1757/58	18,934,386	3,978,783	21.0	1787/88	17,418,860	5,478,999	31.5
1758/59	18,789,305	1,484,294	7.9	1788/89	14,498,948	(unknown)	
1759/60	18,720,423	2,993,712	16.0	1789/90	14,747,227	4,413,848	29.9

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## Appendix 8

### *Specification of the return shipments from Canton for the Netherlands, 1729–93, in guilders and percentages*

The survey below has been compiled from the daybook and ledgers of the factory, General Reports, invoices and suchlike of the years in question. For the calculations in guilders the conversion rate for the tael has been taken into account.

The various goods bought have been divided into six groups: 1. Tea; 2. Porcelain; 3. Raw silk (Nanking and Canton silk); 4. Textiles (nankeens and silks); 5. Drugs and miscellaneous (China root, galingale, rhubarb, sago, Chinese anise, turmeric, mercury, gold, lacquerwork, fans, painted wallpaper); 6. Ballast and costs (spelter, tin, lead, iron, rattan, sappanwood and the 2% allowed on the purchases to cover costs).

For each year the total purchase is given first, followed by the share in it of each group, both in guilders and percentages.

1729–34 Amsterdam chamber only; no figures known for the Zealand ships.

1729	<b>Total: fl. 284,902</b>	Tea: fl. 242,420 = 85.1%
	Porcelain: fl. 30,561 = 10.7%	Textiles: fl. 11,921 = 4.2%
1730	<b>Total: fl. 234,932</b>	Tea: fl. 203,630 = 86.7%
	Porcelain: fl. 30,541 = 13.0%	Drugs & Misc.: fl. 761 = 0.3%
1731	<b>Total: fl. 524,933</b>	Tea: fl. 330,996 = 63.1%
	Porcelain: fl. 54,222 = 10.3%	Drugs & Misc.: fl. 131,018 = 25.0%
	Ballast & Costs.: fl. 8,697 = 1.6%	
1732	<b>Total: fl. 562,622</b>	Tea: fl. 397,466 = 70.7%
	Porcelain: fl. 91,191 = 16.2%	Textiles: fl. 18,564 = 3.3%
	Drugs & Misc.: fl. 43,915 = 7.8%	Ballast & Costs.: fl. 11,486 = 2.0%
1733	<b>Total: fl. 448,349</b>	Tea: fl. 336,881 = 75.2%
	Porcelain: fl. 89,236 = 19.9%	Drugs & Misc.: fl. 1,095 = 0.2%
	Ballast & Costs.: fl. 21,137 = 4.7%	
1734	<b>Total: fl. 304,450</b>	Specification unknown

1735–95 All Chambers

1735	<b>Total: fl. 458,413</b>	Specification unknown
1736	<b>Total: fl. 365,036</b>	Tea: fl. 201,584 = 55.3%
	Porcelain: fl. 37,284 = 10.2%	Textiles: fl. 117,670 = 32.2%
	Drugs & Misc.: fl. 1,902 = 0.5%	Ballast & Costs.: fl. 6,596 = 1.8%

- 1737 **Total: fl. 597,282** Tea: fl. 410,882 = 68.8%  
 Porcelain: fl. 86,027 = 14.4% Raw silk:  
 fl. 45,332 = 7.6% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 3,384 =  
 0.6% Ballast & Costs.: fl. 51,657 = 8.6%
- 1738 **Total: fl. 393,732** Tea: fl. 283,452 = 72.0%  
 Porcelain: fl. 58,331 = 14.8% Drugs & Misc.:  
 fl. 14,976 = 3.8% Ballast & Costs.: fl. 36,973  
 = 9.4%
- 1739 **Total: fl. 525,983** Tea: fl. 290,461 = 55.2%  
 Porcelain: fl. 37,681 = 7.2% Textiles:  
 fl. 144,567 = 27.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 12,188  
 = 2.3% Ballast & Costs: 41,086 = 7.8%
- 1740 **Total: fl. 1,075,001** Tea: fl. 590,328 = 54.9%  
 Porcelain: fl. 96,599 = 9.0% Textiles: fl.  
 297,190 = 27.6% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 18,053 =  
 1.7% Ballast & Costs: fl. 72,831 = 6.8%
- 1741 **Total: fl. 427,213** Specification unknown
- 1742 **Total: fl. 1,043,334** Tea: fl. 719,462 = 69.0%  
 Porcelain: fl. 102,535 = 9.8% Textiles:  
 fl. 140,692 = 13.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 6,701  
 = 0.6% Ballast & Costs: fl. 73,944 = 7.1%
- 1743 **Total: fl. 906,135** Tea: fl. 630,590 = 69.6%  
 Porcelain: fl. 77,035 = 8.5% Textiles:  
 fl. 128,226 = 14.2% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 5,817  
 = 0.6% Ballast & Costs: 64,467 = 7.1%
- 1744 **Total: fl. 995,288** Tea: fl. 694,759 = 69.8%  
 Porcelain: fl. 67,637 = 6.8% Textiles:  
 fl. 174,244 = 17.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 7,871  
 = 0.8% Ballast & Costs: fl. 50,777 = 5.1%
- 1745 **Total: fl. 1,165,835** Tea: fl. 731,356 = 62.7%  
 Porcelain: fl. 79,241 = 6.8% Raw silk:  
 fl. 59,005 = 5.1% Textiles: fl. 208,878 = 17.9%  
 Drugs & Misc.: fl. 9,284 = 0.8% Ballast &  
 Costs: fl. 78,071 = 6.7%
- 1746 **Total: fl. 1,228,130** Tea: fl. 875,529 = 71.3%  
 Porcelain: fl. 70,175 = 5.7% Textiles:  
 fl. 205,179 = 16.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 11,737  
 = 1.0% Ballast & Costs: fl. 65,510 = 5.3%
- 1747 **Total: fl. 1,518,700** Specifications unknown
- 1748 **Total: fl. 1,327,821** Tea: fl. 897,442 = 67.6%  
 Porcelain: fl. 63,864 = 4.8% Raw silk:  
 fl. 129,034 = 9.7% Textiles: fl. 205,245 =  
 15.4% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 6,245 = 0.5%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 25,991 = 2.0%
- 1749 **Total: fl. 775,154** Tea: fl. 483,317 = 62.4%  
 Porcelain: fl. 38,444 = 4.9% Textiles:  
 fl. 109,889 = 14.2% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 1,627  
 = 0.2% Ballast & Costs: fl. 16,694 = 2.1%  
 Raw silk: fl. 125,183 = 16.2%
- 1750 **Total: fl. 1,366,760** Tea: fl. 960,403 = 70.3%  
 Porcelain: fl. 70,690 = 5.2% Raw silk:  
 fl. 126,205 = 9.2% Textiles: fl. 187,824 =  
 13.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 9,043 = 0.7%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 12,595 = 0.9%
- 1751 **Total: fl. 1,370,313** Tea: fl. 823,435 = 60.1%  
 Porcelain: fl. 72,745 = 5.3% Raw silk:  
 fl. 123,812 = 9.1% Textiles: fl. 314,192 =  
 22.9% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 3,922 = 0.3%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 32,207 = 2.3%
- 1752 **Total: fl. 1,990,488** Tea: fl. 1,564,114 =  
 78.6% Porcelain: fl. 121,466 = 6.1% Raw  
 silk: fl. 42,884 = 2.2% Textiles: fl. 199,356 =  
 10.0% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 2,644 = 0.1%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 60,024 = 3.0%
- 1753 **Total: fl. 2,703,229** Tea: fl. 2,110,708 =  
 78.1% Porcelain: fl. 94,250 = 3.5% Raw silk:  
 fl. 70,826 = 2.6% Textiles: fl. 349,813 =  
 12.9% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 8,680 = 0.3%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 68,952 = 2.6%
- 1754 **Total: fl. 3,480,182** Tea: fl. 2,722,870 =  
 78.3% Porcelain: fl. 148,311 = 4.3% Raw  
 silk: fl. 142,496 = 4.1% Textiles:  
 fl. 437,095 = 12.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 6,948  
 = 0.2% Ballast & Costs: fl. 22,462 = 0.6%
- 1755 **Total: fl. 2,623,071** Tea: fl. 1,951,440 = 74.4%  
 Porcelain: fl. 88,511 = 3.4% Raw silk:  
 fl. 143,358 = 5.5% Textiles: fl. 406,222 =  
 15.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 6,578 = 0.2%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 26,962 = 1.0%
- 1756 **Total: fl. 2,067,312** Tea: fl. 1,351,450 =  
 65.4% Porcelain: fl. 96,823 = 4.7% Raw silk:  
 fl. 153,915 = 7.4% Textiles: fl. 446,671 =  
 21.6% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 8,574 = 0.4%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 9,879 = 0.5%
- 1757 **Total: fl. 570,727** Tea: fl. 279,901 = 49.0%  
 Porcelain: fl. 14,864 = 2.6% Raw silk:  
 fl. 43,478 = 7.6% Textiles: fl. 201,138 = 35.3%  
 Drugs & Misc.: fl. 6,433 = 1.1% Ballast &  
 Costs: fl. 24,913 = 4.4%
- 1758 **Total: fl. 1,195,075** Tea: fl. 777,409 = 65.1%  
 Porcelain: fl. 62,933 = 5.3% Raw silk: fl. 40,342  
 = 3.4% Textiles: fl. 247,867 = 20.7% Drugs  
 & Misc.: fl. 11,440 = 0.9% Ballast & Costs:  
 fl. 55,084 = 4.6%
- 1759 **Total: fl. 1,883,629** Tea: fl. 1,486,611 =  
 78.9% Porcelain: fl. 49,455 = 2.6% Raw silk:  
 fl. 123,088 = 6.5% Textiles: fl. 163,062 =  
 8.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 17,198 = 0.9%  
 Ballast & Costs: fl. 44,215 = 2.4%
- 1760 **Total: fl. 1,803,274** Tea: fl. 1,614,841 =  
 89.6% Porcelain: fl. 95,326 = 5.3% Textiles:  
 fl. 7,609 = 0.4% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 2,085 =  
 0.1% Ballast & Costs: fl. 83,413 = 4.6%
- 1761 **Total: fl. 1,213,001** Tea: fl. 1,037,991 =

	85.6% Porcelain: fl. 41,517 = 3.4% Textiles: fl. 11,830 = 1.0% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 1,914 = 0.1% Ballast & Costs: fl. 119,749 = 9.9%		
1762	<b>Total: fl. 1,965,732</b> Tea: fl. 1,651,976 = 84.1% Porcelain: fl. 84,717 = 4.3% Raw silk: fl. 77,679 = 3.9% Textiles: fl. 8,015 = 0.4% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 7,171 = 0.4% Ballast & Costs: fl. 136,174 = 6.9%	1773	9.3% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 31,507 = 1.4% Ballast & Costs: fl. 163,011 = 7.2% <b>Total: fl. 2,299,212</b> Tea: fl. 1,657,285 = 72.1% Porcelain: fl. 106,675 = 4.6% Raw silk: fl. 140,145 = 6.1% Textiles: fl. 204,688 = 8.9% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 43,835 = 1.9% Ballast & Costs: fl. 146,584 = 6.4%
1763	<b>Total: fl. 1,876,454</b> Tea: fl. 1,427,968 = 76.1% Porcelain: fl. 91,472 = 4.9% Raw silk: fl. 193,182 = 10.3% Textiles: fl. 86,895 = 4.6% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 8,981 = 0.5% Ballast & Costs: fl. 67,956 = 3.6%	1774	<b>Total: fl. 2,274,204</b> Tea: fl. 1,608,419 = 70.8% Porcelain: fl. 124,434 = 5.4% Raw silk: fl. 121,702 = 5.3% Textiles: fl. 236,390 = 10.4% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 40,568 = 1.8% Ballast & Costs: fl. 142,691 = 6.3%
1764	<b>Total: fl. 2,737,676</b> Tea: fl. 2,093,534 = 76.5% Porcelain: fl. 94,730 = 3.5% Raw silks: fl. 167,288 = 6.1% Textiles: fl. 211,164 = 7.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 5,350 = 0.2% Ballast & Costs: fl. 165,610 = 6.0%	1775	<b>Total: fl. 2,263,529</b> Tea: fl. 1,625,045 = 71.8% Porcelain: fl. 96,567 = 4.3% Raw silk: fl. 132,171 = 5.8% Textiles: fl. 224,899 = 9.9% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 38,987 = 1.7% Ballast & Costs: fl. 145,860 = 6.5%
1765	<b>Total: fl. 2,752,841</b> Tea: fl. 2,199,097 = 79.9% Porcelain: fl. 104,889 = 3.8% Raw silk: fl. 79,140 = 2.9% Textiles: fl. 210,394 = 7.6% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 9,583 = 0.4% Ballast & Costs: fl. 149,739 = 5.4%	1776	<b>Total: fl. 2,451,597</b> Tea: fl. 1,723,870 = 70.3% Porcelain: fl. 89,784 = 3.7% Raw silk: fl. 201,334 = 8.2% Textiles: fl. 265,010 = 10.8% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 38,884 = 1.6% Ballast & Costs: fl. 132,715 = 5.4%
1766	<b>Total: fl. 2,584,402</b> Tea: fl. 2,087,036 = 80.8% Porcelain: fl. 114,703 = 4.4% Raw silk: fl. 50,986 = 2.0% Textiles: fl. 131,083 = 5.1% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 14,270 = 0.5% Ballast & Costs: fl. 186,324 = 7.2%	1777	<b>Total: fl. 2,703,560</b> Tea: fl. 2,028,413 = 75.1% Porcelain: fl. 85,126 = 3.2% Raw silk: fl. 184,940 = 6.8% Textiles: fl. 225,752 = 8.3% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 35,722 = 1.3% Ballast & Costs: fl. 143,607 = 5.3%
1767	<b>Total: fl. 2,434,115</b> Specification unknown	1778	<b>Total: fl. 2,834,687</b> Tea: fl. 1,970,198 = 69.5% Porcelain: fl. 131,415 = 4.6% Raw silk: fl. 225,791 = 8.0% Textiles: fl. 311,058 = 11.0% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 46,626 = 1.6% Ballast & Costs: fl. 149,599 = 5.3%
1768	<b>Total: fl. 2,599,217</b> Tea: fl. 1,829,786 = 70.4% Porcelain: fl. 92,910 = 3.6% Raw silk: fl. 147,559 = 5.7% Textiles: fl. 288,295 = 11.1% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 19,407 = 0.7% Ballast & Costs: fl. 221,260 = 8.5%	1779	<b>Total: fl. 2,583,642</b> Tea: fl. 1,744,791 = 67.6% Porcelain: fl. 122,151 = 4.7% Raw silk: fl. 224,284 = 8.7% Textiles: fl. 327,845 = 12.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 43,194 = 1.6% Ballast & Costs: fl. 121,377 = 4.7%
1769	<b>Total: fl. 2,362,553</b> Tea: fl. 1,864,660 = 78.9% Porcelain: fl. 129,540 = 5.5% Raw silk: fl. 51,153 = 2.2% Textiles: fl. 147,565 = 6.2% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 22,538 = 1.0% Ballast & Costs: fl. 147,097 = 6.2%	1780	<b>Total: fl. 2,471,829</b> Tea: fl. 1,738,936 = 70.4% Porcelain: fl. 93,460 = 3.8% Raw silk: fl. 230,171 = 9.3% Textiles: fl. 294,458 = 11.9% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 39,922 = 1.6% Ballast & Costs: fl. 74,882 = 3.0%
1770	<b>Total: fl. 2,405,232</b> Tea: fl. 1,777,256 = 73.9% Porcelain: fl. 132,066 = 5.5% Raw silk: fl. 185,329 = 7.7% Textiles: fl. 136,332 = 5.7% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 3,611 = 0.1% Ballast & Costs: fl. 170,638 = 7.1%	1781	No ships in Canton
1771	<b>Total: fl. 2,442,769</b> Tea: fl. 1,740,889 = 71.3% Porcelain: fl. 129,510 = 5.3% Raw silk: fl. 190,360 = 7.8% Textiles: fl. 181,613 = 7.4% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 31,532 = 1.3% Ballast & Costs: fl. 168,865 = 6.9%	1782	No ships in Canton
1772	<b>Total: fl. 2,255,148</b> Tea: fl. 1,632,644 = 72.4% Porcelain: fl. 106,305 = 4.7% Raw silk: fl. 112,248 = 5.0% Textiles: fl. 209,433 =	1783	<b>Total: fl. 1,605,621</b> Tea: fl. 1,076,991 = 67.1% Porcelain: fl. 56,775 = 3.5% Raw silk: fl. 162,918 = 10.1% Textiles: fl. 152,406 = 9.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 20,595 = 1.3% Ballast & Costs: fl. 135,936 = 8.5%
		1784	<b>Total: fl. 3,181,925</b> Tea: fl. 2,255,619 = 70.9% Porcelain: fl. 104,825 = 3.3% Raw silk: fl. 207,623 = 6.5% Textiles: fl. 326,011 =

	10.2% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 53,486 = 1.7%				
	Ballast & Costs: fl. 234,361 = 7.4%				
1785	<b>Total: fl. 2,604,895</b> Tea: fl. 1,768,428 =				
	67.9% Porcelain: fl. 85,849 = 3.3% Raw silk:	1790	<b>Total: fl. 683,971</b> Tea: fl. 367,316 = 53.7%		
	fl. 280,940 = 10.8% Textiles: fl. 300,156 =		Porcelain: fl. 28,271 = 4.1% Raw silk: fl. 39,622		
	11.5% Drugs & Misc.: fl. 24,345 = 0.9%		= 5.8% Textiles: fl. 209,916 = 30.7% Drugs		
	Ballast & Costs: fl. 145,177 = 5.6%		& misc.: fl. 6,800 = 1.0% Ballast & costs:		
1786	<b>Total: fl. 4,538,034</b> Tea: fl. 3,342,391 =		fl. 32,046 = 4.7%		
	73.7% Porcelain: fl. 113,526 = 2.5% Raw silk:	1791	<b>Total: fl. 1,534,680</b> Tea: fl. 1,017,519 = 66.3%		
	fl. 372,268 = 8.2% Textiles: fl. 344,501 = 7.6%		Porcelain: fl. 48,928 = 3.2% Raw silk: fl.		
	Drugs & misc.: fl. 104,465 = 2.3% Ballast &		188,518 = 12.3% Textiles: fl. 203,825 = 13.3%		
	costs: fl. 260,883 = 5.7%		Drugs & misc.: fl. 5,599 = 0.3% Ballast & costs:		
1787	<b>Total: fl. 4,739,549</b> Tea: fl. 3,435,415 =		fl. 70,291 = 4.6%		
	72.5% Porcelain: fl. 117,536 = 2.5% Raw	1792	<b>Total: fl. 2,269,758</b> Tea: fl. 1,821,461 = 80.2%		
	silk: fl. 489,081 = 10.3% Textiles: fl. 386,274 =		Porcelain: fl. 42,242 = 1.9% Raw silk: fl. 93,013		
	8.2% Drugs & misc.: fl. 81,332 = 1.7% Ballast		= 4.1% Textiles: fl. 203,486 = 9.0% Drugs		
	& costs: fl. 229,911 = 4.8%		& misc.: fl. 31,610 = 1.4% Ballast & costs:		
1788	<b>Total: fl. 4,039,114</b> Tea: fl. 3,171,942 =		fl. 77,946 = 3.4%		
	78.5% Porcelain: fl. 127,195 = 3.1% Raw silk:	1793	<b>Total: fl. 2,714,789</b> Tea: fl. 2,150,190 = 79.2%		
	fl. 143,764 = 3.6% Textiles: fl. 326,334 = 8.1%		Porcelain: fl. 61,842 = 2.3% Raw silk: fl. 52,833		
	Drugs & misc.: fl. 91,581 = 2.3% Ballast & costs:		= 1.9% Textiles: fl. 237,848 = 8.8% Drugs &		
	fl. 178,298 = 4.4%		misc.: fl. 64,156 = 2.4% Ballast & costs:		
1789	<b>Total: fl. 4,327,372</b> Tea: fl. 3,316,479 =		fl. 147,920 = 5.4%		
	76.7% Porcelain: fl. 108,917 = 2.5% Raw	1794	Not enough information.		

## Appendix 9

### *Gross profits on porcelain shipped direct to the Netherlands, 1729–93*

In this appendix year means the year of buying-in in Canton. The purchase prices have been made out from the daybooks, shipping invoices, trade reports, etc. of the factory. The figures concerning the proceeds on the sales are taken for the period 1729–56 from V.O.C. 6989, ‘Collocation of the Sales’, and for the period 1757–89 from V.O.C. 4594-4597, ‘Ge-

neral Statements’. Although the return shipments for Amsterdam and Zeeland are not specified in the latter source, the proceeds given can be ascribed to porcelain without more ado, because no porcelain was imported in any other way. All the amounts have been converted into ‘heavy’ guilders. Porcelain on ships that sank on the homeward voyage is not included, of course. Under ‘Further details’ are mentioned which cargos were sold later than usual, sources for the proceeds on sales after 1789, etc.

Year	Purchase price	Proceeds on sale	Gross profit	Gross profit	Further details
	fl.	fl.	fl.	%	
1729	30,561	90,920	60,359	197.6	
1730	30,541	101,306	70,765	232.0	
1731	54,222	150,450	96,228	177.6	1
1732	91,191	275,020	183,829	201.6	
1733	89,236	219,660	130,424	146.2	2
1734		86,717			3
1735 no direct return shipment					
1736	37,284	83,473	46,189	123.9	
1737	86,027	174,643	88,616	103.1	
1738	58,331	86,443	28,112	48.2	
1739	37,681	70,280	32,599	91.4	
1740	100,897	216,881	115,984	115.1	4
1741 return ship lost on homeward voyage					
1742	102,535	179,735	77,200	75.3	
1743	77,035	131,997	54,962	71.4	
1744	67,637	107,295	39,658	58.6	
1745	79,241	124,069	44,828	56.6	

Year	Purchase price	Proceeds on sale	Gross profit	Gross profit	Further details
	fl.	fl.	fl.	%	
1746	70,175	100,432	30,257	43.1	
1747		105,256			5
1748	63,864	121,917	58,053	90.9	
1749	38,444	76,292	37,848	98.5	
1750	70,690	128,384	57,694	81.6	
1751	34,793	73,519	38,726	111.4	6
1752	121,466	157,964	36,498	30.0	
1753	94,250	167,204	72,954	77.5	
1754	148,311	234,345	86,034	58.0	
1755	88,511	148,655	60,144	68.0	
1756	96,823	142,444	45,621	47.1	
1757	14,864	49,357	34,493	232.6	
1758	62,933	206,013	143,080	227.8	
1759	49,455	145,684	96,229	194.9	7
1760	95,326	256,900	161,574	169.8	8
1761	41,517	118,084	76,567	184.5	
1762	84,717	235,045	150,328	177.6	
1763	60,836	166,642	105,806	174.2	9
1764	125,365	314,040	188,675	150.6	10
1765	104,889	254,017	149,128	142.2	
1766	114,703	230,901	116,198	101.3	
1767		200,408			5
1768	92,910	209,641	116,731	125.8	
1769	129,540	240,309	110,769	85.5	
1770	132,066	234,537	102,471	77.6	
1771	129,510	217,636	88,126	68.1	
1772	106,305	169,582	63,277	59.3	
1773	106,675	162,408	55,733	52.2	
1774	124,434	200,380	75,946	61.0	
1775	96,567	138,228	41,661	43.2	
1776	89,784	165,088	75,304	83.9	
1777	85,126	170,967	85,841	100.9	
1778	68,267	135,681	67,414	98.8	11
1779	86,857	146,961	60,104	69.2	12
1780	no shipments to the Netherlands				
1781	no shipments to the Netherlands				
1782	no shipments to the Netherlands				
1783	27,896	52,226	24,320	87.3	13
1784	75,129	133,324	58,195	77.5	
1785	85,849	122,407	36,558	42.6	14
1786	113,526	132,527	19,001	16.7	15
1787	40,684	59,013	18,329	45.1	16
1788	127,195	119,584			17
1789	57,819	52,808			18
1790	28,271	44,956	16,685	59.0	19
1791	21,204	32,765	11,561	54.5	20
1792	42,242	50,914	8,672	20.5	21
1793	61,842				22



## Notes to Appendix 9

- 1 Excluding the porcelain that was brought for Zeeland by the *Nieuwvliet*. The purchase price of that is not known; the proceeds on the sale amounted to 84,342 guilders.
- 2 Excluding the porcelain that was brought for Zeeland by the *Nieuwvliet* and the *Anna Catharina*. The purchase prices of this are not known; the proceeds on the sale amounted to 220,308 guilders.
- 3 The purchase price of the porcelain from the *Noord Wolfsbergen* is not known.
- 4 Both the purchase price and the proceeds on the sale include the porcelain that was bought in in 1739 and sent to the Netherlands via Batavia. No specification of the proceeds on the sale is given.
- 5 The purchase prices for this year are not specified in the records.
- 6 Excluding the porcelain from the *Geldermalsen* which sank on the homeward voyage.
- 7 Including the porcelain from the *Kroonenburg*, which was sold in 1761: V.O.C. 13377, 'Compilation of Sales', Vol. 5.
- 8 The proceeds on the sales do not include the porcelain from the *Kroonenburg*, which is included under 1759.
- 9 Excluding the porcelain from the *Huijs te Bijweg*, which was sold in 1765 and is included under 1764, because of the absence of a specification on the proceeds on the sale of porcelain.
- 10 Including the porcelain from the *Huijs te Bijweg*, which was bought in in 1763 and sold in 1765.
- 11 Excluding the porcelain from the *Abbekerk* and the *Vreedenhoff*, which sank on the homeward voyage.
- 12 Excluding the porcelain from the *Zeeploeg*, which sank on the homeward voyage.
- 13 Excluding the porcelain from the *Breslau*, which sank on the homeward voyage.
- 14 Including the porcelain from the *Africaan*, which was sold in 1787 and 1788.
- 15 Including the porcelain from the *Beverwijk* and the *Vreedenburg*, part of which was sold in 1788, V.O.C. 7006, 'Collocation of the Sales', Amsterdam Chamber.
- 16 The proceeds on the sales do not include the porcelain from the *Africaan*, the *Beverwijk* and the *Vreedenburg*, part of which was sold in 1788, but which is included under 1785 in the case of the *Africaan* and 1786 in that of the other two ships, V.O.C. 7006, 'Collocation of the Sales', Amsterdam Chamber. Excluding the porcelain from the *Admiraal de Suffren*, which sank on the homeward voyage. Including the porcelain from the *Voorschoten* and the *Barbesteyn*, which was sold in 1789.
- 17 The loss suffered in this year was mainly incurred on the porcelain brought by the *Blitterswijk*, of which the purchase price amounted to 34,646 guilders and which only brought in 19,083 guilders; see also Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1901-III-26, returns on the *Blitterswijk*. The proceeds on the sale do not include the porcelain from the *Voorschoten* and the *Barbesteyn*, which are included under 1787.
- 18 Excluding the porcelain from the *Maria Cornelia*, the *Schagen* and the *Delft*, the purchase price of this amounted to 51,098 guilders, but the proceeds on the sale are not specified.
- 19 Arch. Canton 175, Returns on the *Vasco da Gama*, V.O.C. 7006, 'Collocation of the Sales', Amsterdam Chamber.
- 20 Relates only to the porcelain from the *Alblasserdam*, Arch. Canton 175, Returns on the *Alblasserdam*. The purchase price on the porcelain brought back for Zeeland by the *Blitterswijk* amounted to 27,724 guilders, the proceeds are not specified.
- 21 V.O.C. 4573, Returns on the *Rozenburg*, *Zeeland* (both cargos sold in 1794) and *Oosthuizen* (sold in 1793). See also Acquisitions of 1st. Dept. 1901-III-26 Returns on the *Oosthuizen*. Excluding the porcelain from the *Snijderburg*, which remained in Canton until 1793-4.
- 22 The porcelain bought in in this year reached the Netherlands either much later or not at all. Proceeds on the sale are not known.

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## Appendix 10

### *Gross profits on porcelain shipped to the Netherlands via Batavia, 1735–46*

In the survey below the ‘year’ indicates the year in which the porcelain was bought in Canton. The daybooks of the factory, shipping invoices and trade reports were used as sources for the purchase prices, K.A. 10228, ‘Colloca-

tion of the Sales’, for the proceeds on the sales. All the amounts have been converted into ‘heavy’ money.

This porcelain was always sold two years after its purchase, either in the spring or the autumn sale. The consignment of 1735, for example, was sold in the spring of 1737, that of 1746 in the autumn of 1748.

After 1747 no more porcelain was shipped to the Netherlands via Batavia.

Year	Purchase price	Proceeds on sale	Gross profit	Gross profit
	fl.	fl.	fl.	%
1735	54,426	102,550	48,124	88.5
1736	35,047	56,971	21,924	62.8
1737	26,550	26,719	169	
1738	24,238	14,706		
1739	27,673			
(No specifications, sold in autumn 1741 and included under the total of the return shipment from China)				
1740	4,298	9,773	5,475	127.4
1741	32,105	47,578	15,473	48.2
1742	21,010	37,332	16,322	77.7
1743	33,235	50,850	17,615	53.0
1744 (no shipment to the Netherlands via Batavia)				
1745	24,154	41,386	17,232	71.4
1746	16,625	13,833		

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## Appendix 11

### *Porcelain shipped to the Netherlands by the Dutch East India Company, 1729–93: A survey of types and decorations*

This survey gives an almost complete summing-up of all the porcelain that was bought in by the Company in Canton and shipped directly to the Netherlands. The dates indicate the years in which the buying-in was done. The porcelain was generally imported into the Netherlands and sold during the following year. Only in the case of a few years, namely 1734, 1741 and 1754–6, are there no or insufficient figures available, while in 1735, 1781 and 1782 no porcelain was shipped to the Netherlands. Thus these years are not included.

The material is taken from the porcelain unpacking books, the settlements and the shipping invoices of the years in question, supplemented by data from the daybooks and the

resolutions. Porcelain shipped to the Netherlands via Batavia in the years 1736–47 is not included here, since specified information is mostly lacking.

The porcelain bought in is subdivided according to types, arranged in alphabetical order. A further subdivision is made according to the colour and the decoration, the different varieties being indicated by a number (see below). A number of the colour indications include varieties for which the supercargos had more than one name. Thus under number 4, Chinese Imari, is also included porcelain that was called ‘red, blue and gold’ or ‘coloured and gold’ (see p. 157). Number 16 also includes ‘white with dragons’, Number 17 (yellow enamelled) ‘olive’ and ‘grey’ (see p. 159). ‘White with gold’ has been added under number 12. A few colour varieties and patterns of decoration occur so seldom that they have not been included in this appendix, but are discussed separately in Chapter IV.

- 1 Blue-and-white
- 2 Blue-and-white ribbed
- 3 Blue-and-white with dragons
- 4 Chinese Imari ('red, blue and gold'; 'coloured and gold')
- 5 Chinese Imari ribbed
- 6 Brown
- 7 Brown ribbed
- 8 Brown, blue-and-white inside
- 9 Brown, Chinese Imari inside
- 10 Brown, enamel colours inside
- 11 Brown with blue-and-white fields
- 12 Brown with Chinese Imari fields

- 13 Brown with fields in enamel colours
- 14 Enamel colours
- 15 Enamel colours ribbed
- 16 Enamel colours with dragons ('white with dragons')
- 17 Yellow enamelled ('grey', 'olive')
- 18 Black enamelled
- 19 (Dark) blue enamelled
- 20 Purple enamelled
- 21 White with various enamel colours ('white with gold')
- 22 White with Marseille pattern
- 23 Decoration 'with the flower picker'
- 24 Decoration 'with the fruit basket'
- 25 Decoration 'with oranges'
- 26 *Encre de Chine* and 'European drawing'
- 27 Completely white, undecorated

[illegible]

BEER TANKARDS BIERKANNEN				BOTTLES FLESSEN		BOWLS without saucers – ‘double’ KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘dubbele’								
1	4	14	27	1	19	1	2	4	8	14	19	23	24	27
1761	140	86												
1762					38									
1763														
1764					32									
1765					38									
1766					54									
1767				1893	855									
1768														
1769	1970													
1770	1854	1600		6070										
1771														
1772														
1173														
1774														
1775														
1776														
1777														
1778						2116		624		1412		124	840	
1779						567		388		492		500	300	
1780						601		555		381				
1783														
1784														
1785														
1786														
1787														
1788														
1789														
1790														
1791														
1792														
1793						3220				630				

BOWLS without saucers – ‘single’ KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘enkele’																		
	1	3	4	8	9	10	13	14	16	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1729	600		700															
1730	228							1000										
1731	36501							3336										
1732	35250					1773		3549										
1733	21454		4034	22394		1825		484										
1736	99828		595				3885	405										840
1737	20500																	
1738	7500			10000									1570					
1739	969																	
1740	10001		1337															
1742	52838		2948	12320	2992			2504		516								
1743								3024										
1744	6950																	
1745	15291																	
1746	12119			2896														
1747	1500		1816	1500														
1748	6442		1727															
1749	1316		1646															
1750	11734																	
1751	25921																	
1752	16512		7431	8398		81	554	5940		2278								
1753	13563		1890	14099				1570										592
1757	19565																	
1758	4935		3500	13160				1120										
1759	44671			447														
1760	3010		4585					3150										
1761	4028	455	201	3840				1018										
1762	3010		1680					1655										
1763	3285		583					1368										
1764	9800	1855	3325	6265		2520		2520					2100					
1765	5026	2376	3955	3185				3640										
1766	2275	1294	3575	5390	1222	1042		2450										
1767	2871	1720	840	1960		2240		4750					2170					
1768	4515	1512	1225	2590	2240	1050		1050					4830					
1769	5110	1575	1400	4305	2100	1400		1855					1050			1925		2660
1770	8260	2030	4305	3760		1575		4285					3395					
1771	8225		4550	4900		2975	1995	4773										
1772	7035		4550	5180	3640	5907		3990										
1773	8550		4598	4095	4305	530		2319										
1774	10417		5028	4200	4200			5050										
1775	5114		2601	2905	2345			2034										

BOWLS without saucers – ‘single’ KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘enkele’																		
	1	3	4	8	9	10	13	14	16	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1776	5382		2588	2555	2520			2540										
1777	3549		678	2100	1820	1855		2777										
1778	5498		4068	3150	1540			7262				752				2100		
1779	11359		2516		770			1736						1207	1238			2619
1780	5584		3081	2866				2392			154					346	102	
1783	3025		1050					2032										
1784	5950		2361					4350										
1785	10710		3220	3955				6930										
1786	19165		4410	5215	3570	735		8842										
1787	21190		3465	5250				21692										
1788	12890			5285				10425										
1789	5750		3325	3430	2450	2765		2705										
1790	1680		1680	2100	660	770		1960										
1791	1975		1400	875	560			1575										
1792	4180		1890	2660				1714										
1793	6440	1015		980	1330	735	3200	2520	1260		840						490	

BOWLS without saucers – half-pint KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘halve’																		
	1	3	4	6	8	9	10	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1729	22830																	1050
1730																		
1731																		
1732																		
1733																		
1736																		
1737	11000								6480									
1738	7500				10000													
1739	15600																	
1740	28600		3734	3000					10800									
1742	11680		2952		11840					1689								
1743			3078		3078					2956								
1744																		
1745																		
1746																		
1747																		
1748																		
1749																		
1750																		
1751																		
1752	1987																	
1753	13553		4978		7924					2419								
1757	7200		1002		2600													
1758	4160		6960		2240		5120											
1759	35328				446													
1760	7120		5900		5520		1600		4880	8398								
1761	603		10639		6137	1491			19820									
1762	9480		4719		528	2407		3240	4080									
1763																		
1764	8356		2320				3560		2000	960								
1765	8750	4460	4520		4880				4320	3600								
1766	5440		4680		4800	2870	6010			5840								
1767	7520		3000		2400		2400			3200			6240			2560		
1768		600	647							7780								
1769	8800	5120	2000		2480		1520			7440			4000			5440		
1770	4560	7920	9840		3600		3200			9680						3200		
1771	10080		5600		6800	2000	2120			6240			4000					
1772			3040		6880	7920	2110			3280								
1773	14551		9428							3090	5733							
1774	12310		4080		4080	3200	1920			4160	7981							
1775	6080		3040		2080	3920				3200								



BOWLS without saucers – half-pint KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘halve’																	
1	3	4	6	8	9	10	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
1776	6240		4000	8960		4000			6480	3200							
1777	6240		1920			4400			5040								
1778	16930		7040						4800		752		799	800	7360		
1779	21396		6560	1920	2240				3165				1205	2056	2240		
1780	11040		2240	6080	2080	2480			4132						5120		
1783	4080		1200	1200					2000								
1784	7920		2000	2000					3920								
1785	9440		1840	3360					3920								
1786	10818		2000	3600	6160	4080			12556								
1787	11120		2640	5280	2640				9520								
1788	880		2080						4720								
1789	7920		2560	2720	4240	2160			2640								
1790	5640		2240	2880	1200				3675								
1791	4000		2400	3200	2000				4000								
1792	13871		3280	400	2240				4560	2000						2400	
1793	8811		6480	560	3280	4320		5200	4490	1680							

[illegible]

BOWLS without saucers – quarter-pint KOMMEN zonder onderschotel – ‘kwart’									
1	2	3	4	13	14	22	24	25	
1749									
1750									
1751									
1752									
1753									
1757									
1758									
1759									
1760									
1761									
1762									
1763									
1764									
1765									
1766									
1767									
1768									
1769	5998			2415		2930			
1770		6691					6778		7886
1771	9255	5730	5270	1540	4250	2168	8923		
1772									
1773									
1774									
1775									
1776									
1777									
1778									
1779	9135			1080		960	6753		
1780	6840	4920							3600
1783									
1784									
1785									
1786									
1787									
1788									
1789									
1790									
1791									
1792									
1793	2017								

BOWLS with saucers – ‘single’ KOMMEN met onderschotel – ‘enkele’												
	1	3	4	6	8	14	20	21	22	23	24	27
1729	11055											
1730	898											
1731	4499					1640						
1732	9650			9000								
1733	1840		3548									
1736	899								1000			
1737	3950				3650							
1738	600											
1739												
1740				1948								
1742	7938											
1743	3270				2464							
1744												
1745												
1746												
1447												
1748												
1749												
1750												
1751	2563											
1752												
1753												
1757												
1758						802			9100		875	
1759												
1760						1865						
1761												
1762	1350					1520						
1763	1347		824			1288						
1764			487			800						
1765			60			799			2500			
1766						1915						
1767						2803						
1768						1026						
1769						733	987		1225			
1770		2000				280	945		2595			
1771			1987			498						
1772							2110					
1773	1306					1035	1014					
1774	1180					1120	1000					
1775	1675		1044			1036						

BOWLS with saucers – ‘single’ KOMMEN met onderschotel – ‘enkele’												
	1	3	4	6	8	14	20	21	22	23	24	27
1776	1015					1544						
1777	1057					502						
1778	912		422			900		100				
1779	483		139			510				243	249	
1780	573		134			506						
1783	534		511			225						
1784	361					1038						
1785						558						
1786	1180		860			1357						
1787	1140		1303			1478						
1788	580		1217			1488						
1789												
1790												
1791												
1792												
1793	369					598						

[illegible]

BOWLS with saucers – half-pint KOMMEN met onderschotel – ‘halve’																
	1	3	4	8	9	10	13	14	16	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1775	5974		2064					3120		3012						
1776	4346		2089					4457		2132						
1777	4244		1110					4255		1101						
1778	4422		1192					3709			250		540	554		
1779	1021		258					1020					450	548		
1780	1643		240					3337								498
1783	1080							1715								
1784	11968		600					7681								
1785	6498							5460								
1786	17504		2096					10721								
1187	16521		1076					9096								
1788	12125		1983					4542								
1789	5161		2050					3013								
1790								1745								
1791								4635								
1792								2773								
1793	237		1396					1500								

BUTTER DISHES with lids and stands round BOTERVLOOTJES met deksel en onderschotel rond							oval ovaal			BUTTER SAUCERS deep and flat BOTERSCHOTELS diepe en vlakke		
1	4	10	14	23	24		1	4	14	1	4	14
1729												
1730												
1731	140											
1732												
1733	2184		1590							3843	2220	
1736												
1737	715	610			669					2508	1050	2865
1738	800	200			356							
1739	2073											
1740	650	325			325							
1742	400	400			400							
1743	200	200			100							
1744												
1745	1191											
1746												
1747												
1748	2100	311			486							
1749	534											
1750	536				134		804		239	2851		
1751	195											
1752	186						170			4359		
1753	45						181	27		10322	2039	1027
1757												
1758	152						16			12520		
1759										13132		1566
1760	240									13341		2556
1761										10499	933	
1762										6300		
1763										4800		
1764										7163		
1765										9050		
1766										12872		
1767										2380	2220	3960
1768	442	489			487					6397	2730	
1769	1303									1620		3960
1770	997									18379		
1771										8590		2100
1772	630									8789		2400
1773	545				728					13521		12227

BUTTER DISHES with lids and stands									BUTTER SAUCERS		
round						oval			deep and flat		
BOTERVLOOTJES met deksel en onderschotel									BOTERSCHOTELS		
rond						ovaal			diepe en vlakke		
1	4	10	14	23	24	1	4	14	1	4	14
1774						475		666	10802		4540
1775						491		494	7390	4640	6870
1776						207		200	8820		6208
1777						197		183	7220		3971
1778						383			3354		1960
1779	159	103		108	50	50					
1780	140			51							
1783	197										3290
1784	1089								5339		
1785						864			8110		
1786	646								5217		
1787	892								8054		1078
1788	370								11532		
1789						319			12993		
1790											
1791									5080		
1792											
1793											



[illegible]

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers with handles CHOCOLADEGOED met oren																
	1	2	4	5	8	9	10	11	13	14	17	19	20	21	22	
1729																
1730	1000		3910													
1731	6970									131						
1732																
1733										1683						
1736																
1737																
1738																
1739																
1740																
1742	3060															
1743	188									1500						
1744																
1745																
1746			7372									6120				
1747																
1748																
1749																
1750	4654															
1751			3063													
1752	4737		6204							5042						
1753	4783		2623		1034	485	629	1956	447	3786						
1757	1574															
1758			2230								5010			1757	590	
1759	5359									4007						
1760	5030		4649							4524		1566		2406		
1761										1854						
1762	3865									7373						
1763	4764		3805		1555					2447						
1764	3254		4215						2365	5195		671	342			
1765	1655		1960							3970		1640		815		
1766			2809		5198		1815			4640				3385		
1767	3748		5775		2275					7872						
1768	1565		5365		2984					7605	2955		1883			
1769	5011		1820							6490				1890		
1770	4075		4146							8763			4012			
1771	5070		3880							5886			1998			
1772										900						
1773	2249									3168						
1774	2253		2000							2011			2180			
1775	3530		2821							3094			3889			

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers with handles CHOCOLADEGOED met oren (vervolg)			
23	24	26	27
1729			
1730			
1731			
1732			
1733			
1736			
1737			
1738			
1739			
1740			
1742			
1743			
1744			
1745			
1746			
1747			
1748			
1749			
1750			
1751			
1752			
1753			343
1757			
1758			390
1759			
1760			
1761			
1762			
1763			
1764		1415	2750
1765		520	
1766			
1767			
1768			
1769			1982
1770			2100
1771			
1772			
1773			
1774			
1775			

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers with handles CHOCOLADEGOED met oren																
	1	2	4	5	8	9	10	11	13	14	17	19	20	21	22	
1776	2125		3279							3312			2845			
1777	2727		1230							3490			1942			
1778	10734		3183							2686			2071	500		
1779	4116		2571							5714						
1780	7546	660	1560	966						15734						
1783	3414		880							4835			1287			
1784	3823		3991							7558						
1785	4223		1178							3516						
1786	3248									2942						
1787	2036		610							3200						
1788	2983									4925						
1789	4915									2067						
1790	2926									1379						
1791	948									3832						
1792	497									2882						
1793	3775		320							1725			1000	300		

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers with handles CHOCOLADEGOED met oren (vervolg)			
23	24	26	27
1776			
1777			
1778			
1779	1000	593	
1780			
1783			
1784			
1785			
1786			
1788			
1789			
1790			
1791			
1792			
1793		820	

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers without handles CHOCOLADEGOED zonder oren													
	1	4	6	8	9	10	11	13	14	19	20	21	27
1729	6907												2550
1730									1590				
1731	3850		5415						9285				
1732						19623			2900				
1733		3023		26530									
1736												2886	250
1737	3605	3100		3557		3394		3248	3650				
1738	2222	8400											
1739	1502	3773											
1740	5566	2226		1590					413				
1742	4500												
1743	15201								5958				
1744	6426												
1745													
1746												1943	
1747													
1748	2300												
1749													
1750												3528	
1751	8038												
1752	5644									15307			
1753					164	947	1030	501	850			810	329
1757													
1758													
1759													
1760	4622								3315				
1761	8529								3926				
1762	4779	2833							2330				
1763	4217	2461							2651			1445	
1764	2251	2475							5553				840
1765									3057			1678	1747
1766	1478	1130							2005			500	
1767	2000	1015							2868			1000	
1768	1833	940							4803				
1769	2889								3820				
1770	2050	5868							4945				
1771	960	1420											
1772									2390				
1773	410												
1774	2430	2174							2000		2077		
1775	1708	2987							2582		1010		

CHOCOLATE CUPS and saucers without handles CHOCOLADEGOED zonder oren (vervolg)												CHOCOLATE JUGS CHOCOLADEKANNETJES			
1	4	6	8	9	10	11	13	14	19	20		1	4	14	
1776	1009	2129						1084		1001		1729			
1777	1145	1146						1135				1730	1340		
1778															
1779												1731	529	131	
1780	1510	1755						1109		1089		1732			
1783	1230	750						1174		688		1733			
1784	768							735		740		1736			
1785												1737			
1786												1739			
1788												1740			
1789															
1790												1742			
1791												1743			
1792												1744			
1793												1745			
												1746			
												1747			
												1748			
												1749			
												1750			
												1751			
												1752			
												1753			
												1757			
												1758			
												1759			
												1760			
												1761			
												1762			
												1763			
												1764	1447	570	
												1765		1101	
												1766	3064	2589	478
												1767	2500	2268	7776
												1768			
												1769	2314		
												1770			

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘double Dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘dubbel Hollands’																		
	1	2	4	5	8	9	10	11	13	14	15	16	17	20	21	22	25	27
1729																		
1730																		
1731																		
1732																		
1733																		
1736	6784														9956			
1737	14850																	
1738	32000				12635													
1739																		
1740																		
1742																		
1743					32900		6901		3632									
1744	2674		7814		58240													
1745					11139													
1746	6887		4616		4130													
1747	4683				2496													
1748					8250		2702			1060								
1749		3988			5863		1552				1466							
1750	16448									3262	12992							
1751	6133	6415																
1752			3559		28395	4748			5513	8762					9905			
1753	17674		4728	2250	8426	4217	4277	4220		1005	2421							2027
1757		2216		1330	6314								1000					1073
1758																		
1759	11685				8311										4925			
1760					29745	7868	8455		2555						18479			
1761	626	5865	9407		6985	3665	1716		4514	2030								200
1762	15798		11045	5105	15071	6825	11180		6650	20637		2894						
1763	5807	800	9722		10960	5410	7935		4830	10988					5040			
1764			17219		24280	6863	7000		6433	17343		1633			4737			2915
1765	13289		10300	2650	18252	15066	19995			8158		3753						600
1766	22075		11460		36501	6266	8235			17240								
1767	28510		12530		43395	2070	14467			16160		790		4213	7452			3155
1768	27978		10784	5885	11352	4135	15438		750	20570		5380	9763	4930				3000
1769			6413	4577	8532	10980	13660		5470	18776				9222	4953			5155
1770	3625	3200	13260	6675	6240	3460	11050			25069				8115	5470		5990	
1771	10775		2540		4320	4240			4700	10916	6386			9890				
1772	6862	5391	7025		3745		5020			3028			6805	3018				
1773	7121		4994		4998	1040	4080			5054				1985				
1774	9270		5280		6775	2518	8138		5230	7772				4073				
1775	12722		5180		9430	6321	10187			8771				3890				



COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘double Dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘dubbel Hollands’																		
1	2	4	5	8	9	10	11	13	14	15	16	17	20	21	22	25	27	
1776	14255		9289		8620	2940	8550		10799				4268					
1777	13049		5531		8251	3480	4135	3350	10425				4504					
1778	9197		5196		7594	4985	3940		9691				1963	1000		3756		
1779	6898	2361	3098	1047	2531	4074	4697		19625							2760		
1780	8128		4055			3900	3825		8899				2025			1840		
1783	5252		2010		2460	1800	2880	1445	5010				840					
1784	12869		3955		2030	1830	4535		11302				982			980		
1785	13074		1850		4433	2000	2998		10219									
1786	28546		4910		6090	4890	4824		21342									
1787	28308		8567		7204	4340	2325		14370									
1788	34171		30592		1368	7307	12721		14410									
1789	11081		5324		13478	11674	11150		6265									
1790	4185		3840		5450	6400	2990		5193									
1791	2635		1070		2780	2110	2720		8026									
1792	9962		1488			4450	4450		10673				500					
1793	8619		2059		3460		510	3519	2741				397					

COFFEE CUPS and saucers with handles 'double Dutch' KOFFIEGOED met oren 'dubbel Hollands'							
	1	4	8	10	14	17	20
1729							
1730							
1731							
1732							
1733							
1736							
1737							
1738							
1739							
1740							
1742							
1743							
1744							
1745							
1746							
1747							
1748							
1749							
1750							
1751							
1752							
1753							
1757							
1758							
1759							
1760							
1761	1337				820		
1762					1909		
1763							
1764							
1765	340				1907		
1766	1480				2010		
1767	3096	1505			3848		
1768	4805	3518	2380		4929	2463	5727
1769	22930	4715		2050	3422		
1770							
1771							
1772							
1773							

COFFEE CUPS and saucers with handles 'double Dutch' KOFFIEGOED met oren 'dubbel Hollands'							
	1	4	8	10	14	17	20
1774							
1775							
1776							
1777							
1778	1000				500		
1779	1015				482		
1780	1672				1030		
1783	1306	564			490		
1784	680	520					
1785					1175		
1786					2031		
1787					2049		
1788		1841			2059		
1789					2060		
1790	1453						
1791							
1792							
1793							

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘single dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘enkel Hollands’																	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1729	17040																
1730																	
1731	2600																
1732	4530					24112	3060							16393			
1733	20240	2170					15074	78775	2390	6877				25622			
1736										1089							
1737																	
1738					11590				9780								
1739	31170																
1740	8632			4142				4077		1209							
1742																	
1743								19520	18208				11074				
1744				21164				99323	7055	4571							
1745								41254									
1746																	
1747								69360	31480	3201							
1748								45957	9527	36216							
1749								7895	23715								
1750				34958				7327	17016					3882			
1751	4080							23310	10668	5950							
1752	15007			13336				15388	4668	1992				6981			
1753	58179			4759				16914		6597	4322						
1757	14446							8472							1000		1040
1758	30605	3300		3380				8650						1990	1980		8565
1759	106507							36285		14565				14966			
1760	38410	43700		50655				21595	19260	21310	6408		5990				
1761	27891	12190		12716				10254	11295	4828			7225	3495	4118		
1762	61490	13340		48290				29490	28225	15340			15385	13935	12031	1850	
1763	51210	9030		36211	3640			28145	18160	11815			10540				
1764	26749			21237				26225	8835	10280			4496	26822			
1765	37079	6815	3400	34976				27655	27369	24570				35329	3975	520	
1766	36333			11710				22320	14790	18960				27600			
1767	33474			20445				10335	5890	3655				20624			
1768	47014	3060	823	13694	1005			20990	5220	25550			7095	21378		5255	9653
1769	45496	10960	17650	22424	7640			34413	28149	28670				26854	3660		
1770	70614	11225	2650	39865				26145	18140	32375				43320	10820		
1771	63565	16320	2550	16755				18537	19930	33411			2915	26926	1870		
1772	50338	16249		16970				22670	14500	21710	6182			7477			
1773	48444	18988		15763				22628	20445	27583				17551			
1774	56051			41296	1845			24077	9515	30603	7080		12327	21189			
1775	40969			26458				32080	13552	25608			1700	30638			

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘single dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘enkel Hollands’ (vervolg)									
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
1729									
1730									
1731									
1732									
1733									
1736									
1737									
1738									
1739									
1740									
1742									
1743									
1744									
1745									
1746									
1747									
1748									
1749									
1750									
1751									
1752				4135					
1753							5344	5067	
1757									
1758			7762					240	
1759								4776	
1760	3500		45781						
1761									
1762									
1763			15110						
1764								2490	
1765									
1766									
1767		3950						4500	
1768								3405	
1769		4205	3750			3090		5980	
1770		6690	8310			5370			
1771		10250							
1772		7526							
1773		7870							
1774		8055							
1775		11120							

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘single dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘enkel Hollands’ (vervolg)																
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1776	69681	5944		27613			21499	10210	22307							32426
1777	50193			18672			19185	10032	20010				10789	31550		
1778	87021	19084		17534			25851	20523	20512		10310			30795		
1779	49151	10355		4475	2995		8637	17524	15289					32734		
1780	59505	15180		24168	3031		26127	13115	20095				3293	33496	4318	
1783	41274			8070			9775	5940	8160				7692	13623		
1784	79344			14969			18997	15120	26258					32768		
1785	73028			10925			14302	12989	19756					23865		
1786	117204			18789			15318	23712	23785					38118		
1787	121503			19147			14593	16375	16234					32924		
1788	35748			30825			2000	9123	21202					30942		
1789	15164			7749			19976	17562	17978					10841		
1790	7182			5600			10280	8320	12360					5509		
1791	2329			2160			3720	3710	3655					12079		
1792	21114			4989				5510	6165					28682		
1793	45498			3018			17870		3056				12224	7488		

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles – ‘single dutch’ KOFFIEGOED zonder oren ‘enkel Hollands’ (vervolg)									
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
1776	11912								
1777	11582								
1778	7355	2500				10042			
1779				17246	2498			3125	
1780	4344					4384	5563	2780	
1783	2420						2532		
1784	2570					3715	1314		
1785									
1786									
1787									
1788									
1789									
1790									
1791									
1792	5000								
1793	3670						2470	1470	

COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles 'single Dutch' KOFFIEGOED met oren 'enkel Hollands'			COFFEEHOUSE CUPS and saucers  KOFFIEHUISGOED				COFFEEPOTS  KOFFIEKANNEN							
1	4	14	1	8	14	17	1	4	12	13	14	20	21	26
1729														
1730														
1731														
1732											980			
1733								609			1437			
1736														
1737								216	180		224		297	
1738														
1739														
1740								198	180			210		
1742									172					
1743									92					
1744								277	264					
1745								877						
1746														
1747														
1748														
1749														
1750														
1751														
1752				1152	738			119	36	35		84		
1753				1808				43	130			79		
1757				4195		2079	315							
1758				12480										
1759														
1760														
1761														
1762														
1763														
1764	6935							72	99			248		
1765	1940													
1766	960	1670	1430					27	80					
1767	2207	2360	7479						99			125		
1768									27			189		
1769		3470	490					348	351			160		
1770								195	199			339		



COFFEE CUPS and saucers without handles 'single Dutch' KOFFIEGOED met oren 'enkel Hollands'				COFFEEHOUSE CUPS and saucers  KOFFIEHUISGOED				COFFEEPOTS  KOFFIEKANNEN							
1	4	14		1	8	14	17	1	4	12	13	14	20	21	26
1771															
1772															
1773								100							
1774															
1775								98	52			47			
1776								109	52			52			
1777								53	25			41			
1778	2307		1010					105	101			100		22	
1779	5083	1785	2483					117	25						
1780	5314	1791	6972					93	25			60	40		53
1783	3001	1295	3944					52				100			
1784	1638	2558	1756					141	49			200			
1785								157				250			
1786			2700					568	58			403			
1787			3464					313				91			
1788		2537	4135					204				310			
1789			2434					227							
1790	1605							214				160			
1791								106							
1792								53				314			
1793								201				150			79

COOLERS KOELVATEN			CREAM DISHES ROOMBAKKEN			CRUETS OLIE- en AZIJNSTELLEN	
1	4	14	1	4	14	1	14
1729							
1730							
1731							
1732						401	428
1733						490	
1736							
1737							
1738							
1739							
1740							
1742							
1743							
1744							
1745							
1746							
1747							
1748							
1749							
1750							
1751							
1752							
1753							
1757							
1758							
1759							
1760							
1761							
1762							
1763							
1764			122				
1765			214				
1766			360				
1767	92					65	
1768							
1769							
1770							
1771							
1772							
1773			735				
1774	200	204	362				
1775	112	104	400				

COOLERS KOELVATEN				CREAM DISHES ROOMBAKKEN			CRUETS OLIE- en AZIJNSTELLEN	
1	4	14		1	4	14	1	14
1776	72		52	404				
1777	56		54	58	6	56		
1778				140				
1779	10	6	110					
1780								
1783								
1784								
1785								
1786								
1787								
1788								
1789								
1790								
1791								
1792								
1793								

CUPBOARD GARNITURES							CUSPIDORS without handles			CUSPIDORS with handles		
KASTSTELLEN							KWISPEDOREN zonder oor			KWISPEDOREN met oor		
1	4	14	18	19	26		1	4	14	1	4	14
1729												
1730			12									
1731			130				279					
1732			258									
1733	806	383	345									
1736	200	98	99	63								
1737	1532	1422	290	147			1046	1000	962			
1738	483	200	345	150								
1739	193											
1740		99	297	238	100							
1742	332	360	420					200	200			
1743	200								123			
1744	421	654	428							549	248	624
1745	47						2076			2359		
1746							954			954		
1747	60		60				200					
1748		72	62									
1749	69		145							1538	347	
1750		131						188			190	
1751	174	13	52				299					
1752	31	19	22				222	146				
1753	18	1										
1757	134											
1758	173											
1759	453		131	8			813					
1760	87											
1761	67		12				217			123		
1762												
1763										349		
1764	23		53		44	21	406			731		
1765							353					
1766	1690		252	30			161			117		
1767	3262		49	4			1055					
1768	1100		2818				890					
1769	2177		538				257					
1770	1221		1295				387					
1771	481		554	134			365					
1772				16			519					
1773							2670		1103			

CUPBOARD GARNITURES							CUSPIDORS without handles			CUSPIDORS with handles		
KASTSTELLEN							KWISPEDOREN zonder oor			KWISPEDOREN met oor		
1	4	14	18	19	26		1	4	14	1	4	14
1774	39		15				3029					
1775	142	51	45				2003					
1776	85	54	30				1033					
1777	130	32	65				918					
1778	95	34	251				1863					
1779	525	115	558	44			1414					
1780	628	54	688				1530					
1783	402	106	40				613					
1784	223	19	76				921					
1785												
1786												
1787							752					
1788							434					
1789							982					
1790							256					
1791	1250						1220					
1792	1050		403				1308					
1793	79		532				2500					

DINNER PLATES 'double' TAFELBORDEN 'dubbele'					DINNER PLATES 'single' TAFELBORDEN 'enkele'									
1	4	14	20	22	1	4	14	19	20	22	23	24	26	27
1729					29375									1050
1730							10604							
1731					26579	732	34794							
1732					55358		19472							
1733	20674	1175			56761	2288	22164							
1736	4908	1438			2744		337							
1737	43024	2316	3632		35920	2976	3316							
1738	5000			1160	12000									
1739	7030				11856									
1740	1537	480			10354	8468	3996							
1742	3445	1372	906		6813	2088	660	1894						
1743														
1744														
1745					29712									
1746					20194									
1747					21030	17294	1037	1037						
1748					30031	5352	5916							
1749					5863									
1750	523				16886	5552								
1751					14315									
1752	1908	468	230		57293	5494	7156							
1753	3573	985			49345	5488	5172							
1757	4189	1000	1993		14974	1820	3180							
1758	2159		4000		51960	9240								
1759					56122	5085	1026							
1760	19455				34502	8765	15247							
1761	3817	464			16513	7647	5107							
1762	7359	2350			41737	16623	23303							
1763	774	1056			36000	16800	14400							
1764	6188	920		1481	25189	9757	5648							
1765	5016	1763			38450	9041	2518							
1766	901	1436		1994	35990		570							
1767	3330				27240	2040	2400			4140				
1768	12839	5160	7140	5519										
1769	4865			2159	21008	3660	4200							
1770					37399	8352	7137			9476				
1771	2619	2457	2626	1344	47238	5567	10071		6271	5460				
1772	14455				49952	13944	15599			4200				
1773	7545	901	2277		40200	6948	24810			8857				

DINNER PLATES 'double' TAFELBORDEN 'dubbele'					DINNER PLATES 'single' TAFELBORDEN 'enkele'									
1	4	14	20	22	1	4	14	19	20	22	23	24	26	27
1774	11059		2430	2318	33336	14881	19015		4693	6600				
1775	7747	2022	2133		23389	10268	19540		1453					
1776	5252	994	2089		27518	2799	12740		1609					
1777	3497	518	596		21080	3059	6162		3574					
1778	5502	805	981		18915	4540	6008		2896					
1779	2958	72	1350		21665	2720	4225		1245		1200	2381		
1780	3079		508		15184	2091	4561						1016	
1783	857		375		21436		3308		671				678	
1784	768	357			59758	4150	10257							
1785					41974		998							
1786					61182		5707							
1787	1301		426		56145		10378							
1788	3588				30551		8545							
1789	7280		1206		42391	8123	11840							
1790					12960		5918							
1791	5206				25163									
1792					33580		1002							
1793	2450		1108		14100		1000							

DINNER PLATES polygonal TAFELBORDEN hoekig		DINNER SERVICES round TAFELSERVIEZEN rond							DINNER SERVICES octagonal    oval TAFELSERVIEZEN achthoekig    ovaal		
1	14	1	4	14	19	20	21	22	14	1	14
1729		60									
1730		151		643							
1731	935	735		564							
1732		1131		695				16			
1733		1239	433	972							
1736			491	77							
1737		126									
1738		309	18	69							
1739		597	44								
1740		302	157	187							
1742		568	20	45	35						
1743		248	38	238	287						
1744		317	59	117	82				47		
1745		346		596	52						
1746		440	306	204							
1747		92	50	122	86						
1748		203	45	73	81						
1749		143	158	250							
1750		108		520					73		
1751		463	137	359							
1752		48									
1753		29	12	12							
1757	1247	100									
1758	960										
1759											
1760		289									
1761		119		24					4	10	4
1762		141							28		
1763		676	628	97							
1764		57	55	103	8						
1765		158	262	295						16	
1766		199	25	81	4						
1767		169		42			30				
1768		362									
1769		576		290							
1770		215									
1771		332		85		18					
1772		66	20						13		



[illegible]

DISHES							Ewers and basins						FIGURES	
round							polygonal							
SCHALEN							LAMPETKANNEN met kommen						BEELD JES	
rond							hoekig							
1	3	4	14	20	22	1	1	4	14			4	27	
1729														
1730														
1731														
1732														
1733														
1736														
1737														
1738														
1739														
1740														
1742				1250										
1743														
1744														
1745	1000													
1746	5996													
1747	1050											240		
1748	962													
1749														
1750	2135													
1751	5868		1546	827										
1752	5033		4471	3135										
1753	962		494											
1757	507													
1758														
1759	5696													
1760												1360		
1761	3926			252		123								
1762														
1763														
1764	12898					2175								
1765	2814	3050	853			2583	50		50					
1766	6344		2921			2750	34		50					
1767	10631		2918	670		4317								
1768	3250	2250				5301								
1769	4369	700				3021								
1770	5950					2690								
1771	10456	4545	529	528		6293								
1772	9801		2066	1189										
1773	7793		2176	2496	2023									

[illegible]

FISH DISHES			FISH STRAINER		FLOWERPOTS		
VISSCHOTELS			PLATES		BLOEMPOTTEN		
1	4	14	1	14	1	14	19
1729							
1730							
1731							
1732							
1733							
1736							
1737							
1738							
1739							
1740							
1742							
1743							
1744							
1745	1004						
1746	1054						
1747	96						
1748	220						
1749							
1750	214	34					
1751	79	175					
1752	14	32	31				
1753	31						
1757							
1758					54		
1759	157						
1760							
1761	88						
1762							
1763							
1764	180				1425	12	
1765	177						
1766	180						
1767	146						
1768	276						
1769	203						
1770	170	70					
1771							
1772							
1773	110						
1774	341						

FISH DISHES			FISH STRAINER	FLOWERPOTS
VISSCHOTELS			PLATES	
			VISPLATEN	BLOEMPOTTEN
1	4	14	1	14
1775	200			
1776	315	103		
1777	108	56		
1778		13		
1779				
1780				
1783				
1784				
1785				
1786	137			
1787	66	20	160	
1788	74		82	39
1789	150	72	173	66
1790				
1791				
1792				
1793				

[illegible]

[illegible]

HANDLES HEFTEN		'HERB BOXES' KRUIDDOOSJES	HERRING DISHES HARINGBAKJES	KLAPMUTSEN KLAPMUTSEN	MILK CUPS with handles MELKKOPJES met oor
1	14	1	1	1 4	1
1729					
1730	1753				
1731					
1732					
1733		198		1271 405	
1736	2268				
1737	800				
1738					
1739					
1740					
1742					
1743					
1744					
1745					1923
1746					916
1747					
1748					166
1749					735
1750					363
1751					548
1752					219
1753			158		
1757					
1758					
1759					
1760					
1761					
1762					
1763					226
1764					981
1765					
1766					
1767					
1768					407
1769					
1770					420
1771					
1772					
1773			439		
1774					
1775					



HANDLES HEFTEN	'HERB BOXES' KRUIDDOOSJES	HERRING DISHES HARINGBAKJES	KLAPMUTSEN KLAPMUTSEN	MILK CUPS with handles MELKKOPJES met oor
1      14	1	1	1      4	1
1776 1777 1778 1779 1780		604		
1783 1784 1785 1786 1787 1788 1789 1790				
1791 1792 1793				

MILK JUGS MELKKANNEN													
	1	4	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	24	26	27
1729													
1730	170												
1731	1036	912											
1732													
1733	686												
1736		976											
1737		1994	1454		1967	3268			861				
1738													
1739													
1740													
1742													
1743		130											
1744	2872					3326							
1745	1227												
1746	1200												
1747													
1748	1033												
1749	842					408							
1750	272	50				124							
1751													
1752	775	22	29	89	51								
1753		50		31	50	125							
1757													
1758	292												
1759	1100												
1760	604												
1761	248					61							
1762	267					332							
1763						63							
1764	712	64				545	200						
1765	412	776				551							
1766	900	71				521							
1767	270	95				593	91						
1768	232	556				490	119		416				
1769	1494					489	153						
1770	1005	997					655					494	
1771						190							
1772													
1773	1543	438				310	327						
1774	1677	714				367	227						
1775	1404	320				300							

MILK JUGS MELKKANNEN													
	1	4	11	12	13	14	20	21	22	23	24	26	27
1776	1387	422				400							
1777	1340	402				354							
1778	605	611				596		50					
1779	259	52								150	78		
1780	203	50				101	81					53	
1783	149					149							
1784	137	149				300							
1785	453					458							
1786	625					454							
1787	149					363							
1788	708					928							
1789	627												
1790	438					322							
1791	218												
1792	112					532							
1793	454					200	80					79	50

MOORISH CUPS MOORSE KOPJES											MUGS MOKKEN	
4	10	11	13	14	19	20	21	22	24	27	1	14
1729												
1730												
1731												
1732												
1733												
1736												
1737												
1738												
1739												
1740												
1742												
1743												
1744												
1745												
1746												
1747												
1748												
1749												
1750												
1751												
1752												
1753	5648			6184	5648							
1757												
1758	8430	12480			9360		9795					
1759												
1760		14768	1360									
1761												
1762	3830		3876	5142		5080		3610		6080	732	567
1763											303	174
1764	709					5918		850		11639	762	444
1765	68710		4160	2520	23980	2250		8410		11330		
1766	76820		7030	810	68005	23690				9530		
1767	18435			1690	19750			13450		4480		378
1768	17885			14525	6530						762	282
1769	23270		10160	13887	20850						387	879
1770	17030				26127					10008		
1771	24056				35399	5308				8176		
1772			6946	2000				7278				
1773												
1774												
1775	11790				12643		11674					

MOORISH CUPS MOORSE KOPJES												MUGS MOKKEN	
4	10	11	13	14	19	20	21	22	24	27		1	14
1776	12732			17345		9697							
1777	19719			19037		8802							
1778	101877			25272		10080			10227				
1779	5578												
1780	4917		5072										
1783	8814												
1784	88639	10310											
1785	59055				41437								
1786	72173				30668								
1787	38918				26235								
1788	25181			5010	36602								
1789	17847			1730	28384								
1790										7440			
1791										5277			
1792				2000						2077			
1793	2400									9760			

PATTIPANS PATTI- PANNEN			PRIVY POTS SECREET- POTTEN			PUNCHBOWLS PUNCHKOMMEN										
1	4		1	4	14	1	2	3	4	8	14	15	19	23	24	27
1729	600															
1730	321															
1731	1124	1315														
1732																
1733	1565					1396					222					
1736																
1737																
1738																
1739																
1740																
1742																
1743																
1744																
1745																
1746																
1747																
1748																
1749																
1750																
1751																
1752						79					34					
1753						352			204		218					97
1757																
1758																
1759																
1760						1207			1777		1167					
1761						1253		186			132	114		141		
1762						6743			4262		615					
1763						2995			2725		767					
1764						3332	800	1230	1623	2405	3932			894		
1765						4114			2294	2303	2104			386		
1766						2359			1487		1730					
1767						4722			1571		1307					
1768						1299			790		1630					
1769						142			1793		3111					
1770						1834			935		4554					
1771						338			2478		2298					
1772						1864			783		250					
1773						3594			364		191					
1774						1870			1440		1968					

PATTIPANS PATTI- PANNEN		PRIVY POTS SECRET- POTTEN			PUNCHBOWLS PUNCHKOMMEN										
1	4	1	4	14	1	2	3	4	8	14	15	19	23	24	27
1775					1929			1460		2180					
1776					1508			975		2038					
1777					2344			1971		2367					
1778					4506			1297		2918			934	1252	
1779					2648			1654		2966			1186	650	
1780					2241			1888		2599					
1783					413			831		1692					
1784					195			205		210					
1785					1481					1467					
1786					1041					1362					
1787		222													
1788		237	215		740			640		1312		1280			
1789		335		160	726			588		75					
1790					734			176		366					
1791		514		196				411							
1792															
1793					290			483		490					

PUNCH LADLES PUNCHLEPELS	ROSEWATER BOTTLES ROZENWATERFLESJES		
14	1	4	14
1729			
1730			
1731			
1732			
1733	128	1658	
1736			
1737			
1738			
1739			
1740	148	30	296
1742			
1743			
1744			
1745			
1746			
1747			
1748			
1749			
1750			
1751			
1752			
1753			
1757			
1758			
1759			
1760			
1761			
1762			
1763			
1764			
1765			
1766			
1767 410			
1768 825			
1769			
1770			
1771			
1772			
1773			
1774			
1775			



PUNCH LADLES PUNCHLEPELS	ROSEWATER BOTTLES ROZENWATERFLESJES		
14	1	4	14
1776			
1777			
1778			
1779			
1780			
1783			
1784			
1785			
1786			
1787			
1788			
1789			
1790			
1791			
1792			
1793			

SALAD BOWLS				polygonal			oval		
round									
SLABAKKEN									
rond				hoekig			ovaal		
1	4	14		1	4	14	1	4	14
1729									
1730									
1731									
1732									
1733									
1736									
1737									
1738									
1739									
1740									
1742									
1743									
1744									
1745	1196			1140					
1746				1798	419				
1747	1750				84				
1748	300								
1749	1501								
1750	549			499					
1751	1073	518	184				578	262	394
1752									
1753	923	266	192	788		29			
1757									
1758	6397			573					
1759									
1760									
1761	96								
1762									
1763	139								
1764				367		110			
1765				187			46		
1766				400			175		
1767				204			247		
1768				140			218		
1769	373		189	253			280		
1770	1300			202			207		
1771									
1772									
1773	540								

SALAD BOWLS				polygonal			oval		
round									
SLABAKKEN									
rond				hoekig			ovaal		
1	4	14		1	4	14	1	4	14
1774	485								
1775	515								
1776	352						102		
1777	372						109		
1778	204						205		
1779	88	6	25				78		32
1780	68						104		
1783	442								
1784	841						52		
1785	612								
1786	720		180						
1787	1122		106						
1788			216						
1789	1228								
1790									
1791	630								
1792	102								
1793	198								

SALT CELLARS	SAUCE BOATS with stands	SCHUITJES	SERVING DISHES	
ZOUTVAATJES	SAUSKOMMEN met onderbakken	SCHUITJES	round	oval
1      14      17	1      4      14	1      4	1      14	1      14
1729 1730		600 1369	728	
1731            25 1732 1733 1736    390 1737 1738 1739 1740		40		
1742 1743 1744 1745 1746 1747 1748 1749 1750	577			
1751 1752 1753 1757 1758    95          73 1759 1760	23 206 55  150		2271	
1761 1762 1763 1764 1765 1766 1767 1768 1769 1770	1573 329 206 514  325		3075	
1771 1772	29			

SALT CELLARS ZOUTVAATJES	SAUCE BOATS with stands SAUSKOMMEN met onderbakken	SCHUITJES  SCHUITJES	SERVING DISHES round      oval SCHOTELS rond          ovaal
1        14     17	1        4        14	1        4	1        14     1
1773			
1774	213            199		
1775	187            208		
1776	212            201		
1777	195            201		
1778	418		
1779	10   6        25		
1780	68            51		
1783	50		
1784	50		
1785			
1786			
1787			79   42
1788			244   123
1789			1449   136   246
1790			
1791			1652
1792			
1793			

SHAVING BOWLS round SCHEERBEKKENS rond				oval ovaal			SOUP CUPS with handles SOEPKOPPEN met oor						
1	4	14	24	1	4	14	1	3	4	9	10	14	17
1729													
1730			100										
1731	50												
1732			63										
1733													
1736													
1737	951	300	302	951	300	302							
1738													
1739													
1740													
1742	100	136	100										
1743													
1744													
1745													
1746													
1747													
1748	102	393											
1749													
1750													
1751													
1752							3697		592			587	
1753							1163			456	947	657	
1757													
1758	254												
1759							4336					1576	99
1760													
1761	32						970	1320	645			3354	
1762													
1763				297									
1764													
1765	40	60											
1766	75	75											
1767													
1768													
1769													
1770						175							
1771		601				405							
1772	100	100		100	100								
1773		202			215								

SHAVING BOWLS				SOUP CUPS with handles									
round				oval									
SCHEERBEKKENS				SOEPKOPPEN met oor									
rond				ovaal									
1	4	14	24	1	4	14	1	3	4	9	10	14	17
1774	136	115		110	109								
1775	111		102	102		106							
1776	210	211											
1777	206	206											
1778			400										
1779													
1780	50												
1783													
1784													
1785													
1786													
1786													
1787													
1788													
1789													
1790		500											
1791		75											
1792													
1793													

SOUP PLATES SOEPBORDEN									STRAWBERRY BOWLS AARDBEIBAKJES		
1	4	14	20	22	23	24	26		1	4	14
1729	1554										
1730											
1731											
1732											
1733											
1736											
1737											
1738	2939										
1739	2790										
1740											
1742											
1743											
1744	2308										
1745											
1746											
1747											
1748											
1749	1968										
1750	3772										
1751	1452										
1752	766	710									
1753	1515								230		
1757		912									
1758	15850	2450	550		500						
1759	1279										
1760	16190		3800								
1761	9976	531	2435								
1762	29189	3261	10869								
1763	21800	2668	7756								
1764	13178	2695	1934								
1765	13313	4768	1416								
1766	5350										
1767	3900	550	1000								
1768	2050	1100	1450		1550						
1769	5249	650	800		1300						
1770	6716	1680	1605		1850				1000		
1771	10659	1276	2708	1886	1050						
1772	11350	4219	3831		650				418		210
1773	11847	2561	8927		2256						
1774	8609	4282	5333	1771	1600						
1775	7699	3455	6531	516					390		284



SOUP PLATES SOEPBORDEN									STRAWBERRY BOWLS AARDBEIBAKJES		
	1	4	14	20	22	23	24	26	1	4	14
1776	9118	971	4040	520					344		218
1777	6206	1014	2026	913					266		312
1778	5811	1298	1879	641					201		202
1779	5135	843	1461	400		200	400		20	37	59
1780	4237	530	1139					256	31		
1783	5136		746	168				170	46		
1784	16163	1230	2429								55
1785	10193		234						358		
1786	15932		1456						762		
1787	18149		2888						1012		
1788	10537		2866						210		
1789	13619	3160	4034						726		424
1790	2800		1200								
1791	6282		786								
1792	8847		302								
1793	4050		268								

SUGAR BOWLS SUIKERPOTTEN												TEA CADDIES THEEBUSJES					
1	4	10	11	13	14	20	21	25	26	27	1	4	14	20	26		
1729	251																
1730	840						176					170					
1731	31											440					
1732	1994											3621					
1733		465															
1736	1068	523			1960												
1737	1896			1900	1892												
1738	1800			1000													
1739	2154																
1740	4882			2441													
1742				13218													
1743																	
1744	4030			6691													
1745																	
1746		110															
1747																	
1748				2400													
1749																	
1750	488																
1751																	
1752	207	415		218	1059												
1753																	
1757																	
1758		1560								320							
1759	3129		1008	1045													
1760	3600		2460	2460													
1761																	
1762																	
1763																	
1764	1000	610		1100													
1765		978															
1766																	
1767					1908	740											
1768	2190	2400		1500	3750												
1769	3720	3510		2130	1000	400				420							
1770	2151	1440		2235	1188												
1771				1554													
1772																	
1773	622	453			318	327											
1774																	
1775	642	597			600												

SUGAR BOWLS SUIKERPOTTEN												TEA CADDIES THEEBUSJES					
1	4	10	11	13	14	20	21	25	26	27	1	4	14	20	26		
1776	630	609			600												
1777	642	612			513												
1778	288	303			300		75										
1779	204	78															
1780	228	78			75				30		296	55	100	80	99		
1783	150				150												
1784	137	150			369												
1785	534				570												
1786	630				459												
1787	147				270												
1788	600				912												
1789	597																
1790	216				160												
1791	104																
1792	52				480												
1793	550				200	75			75	50							

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – ‘large Dutch’ THEEGOED zonder oren – ‘groot Hollands’					TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – ‘single Dutch’ THEEGOED zonder oren – ‘enkel Hollands’							
1	4	8	14		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1729					94390	6400						13805
1730					58137							8000
1731					270214			600		3050		
1732					180563	9580				70819	20990	
1733					288140	7080		16800			2070	127096
1736					8176							
1737	27278		31380	28210	40215			19210				31395
1738					53075			11400				
1739					80086							
1740	6429				34254			20524				18912
1742												
1743					218123			44599				17713
1744					243584			31754				
1745					375811			21763				
1746					364929			3282				11701
1747					269490	7287		5440				
1748					251582			30898				
1749					136489			3550				
1750					104498			21107				
1751					119330							14082
1752					87985			15065	3950		54036	3261
1753					43009			10686				2726
1757					16311							2090
1758					131959	21020		15245				5665
1759	7506	3927	3010		123763			8923				11077
1760					88555	28510		20450				7790
1761					17505	6342		1820				5664
1762					15670	5130		5850				8520
1763					15222	2350						4148
1764					32518	6000	3477	3430				10277
1765					44002			16545				7347
1766					52265		1250					6256
1767					58417		2230	4881	7410			15510
1768					55681	11790	5716	11818				29930
1769					14930	15565	9225					17380
1770					31495	24178	9310	14505	6093			38123
1771					36144	13871	3730	8188	13986			8745
1772					20854	11206		16207				6000

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – 'large Dutch' THEEGOED zonder oren – 'groot Hollands'					TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – 'single Dutch' THEEGOED zonder oren – 'enkel Hollands'							
1	4	8	14		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1773					39052	9595		14294				5200
1774					35901			21685				21258
1775					31431			7155				13199
1776					21949	1800		16227				
1777					30273			10061				11730
1778	15280	10100	11125	10050	24853			12738				22119
1779					57451	8517		10965	10493			10280
1780					61843			16705				10440
1783					39624			6733				7797
1784					35916			11146				6995
1785					13237			4080				1000
1786												
1787					3372			3500				
1788					8605			7504				2984
1789					6743			8117				10231
1790					7460			2910				6950
1791					3851			910				3900
1792					6769			2014				
1793					24821			1588				7140

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – 'single Dutch' (cont.) THEEGOED zonder oren – 'enkel Hollands' (vervolg)														
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1729														
1730						3237								
1731						20717								
1732						66258								
1733		9965				13930							13993	
1736														
1737														
1738	1620													
1739														
1740	10059	4016												
1742														
1743					7117	28752								
1744						3938								
1745											4548			
1746														
1747											5507		18073	
1748						8602								
1749						11300								
1750						12185								
1751														
1752				1462	8655	22393								
1753						8803								
1757							1060		1000					
1758	12550					7895			14600	350			13970	6710
1759		10190				15338								
1760		8490	1660		8810	14020							10110	
1761						3250								
1762	6080							3018						
1763	15310							1823						
1764	16004	14649						2106						
1765	8170	10413						2225	1994					
1766	9280	29160				8560		5355	1050					
1767	9509							6974						
1768	18880	18205						6665						
1769	14820	21678				2280								
1770	19210	37010				9056	4825							
1771	12980	10625			3700	15660	17150							
1772	9826	16285	8540			5080						5140		

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – 'single Dutch' (cont.) THEEGOED zonder oren – 'enkel Hollands' (vervolg)														
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1773	4455					9021						4979		
1774	10580	8513	9607		10550	12698						9204		
1775		4804				15673						5722		
1776	2150	3850				10584						2845		
1777	10535	10001			6640	18085						5714		
1778	11265			10310		15597						9618		
1779	3904	10202				18839	3454							
1780	10235	8793			4087	26861						4099		
1783	5180	6800			5207	15136						2997		
1784	6704	9097				10185						2135		
1785	1772	2065				5784								
1786														
1787	8880	1709				7026								
1788	2973	3118				10688								
1789	7856	10111				7432								
1790	2530	2400				1330								
1791	3980	3910				9054								
1792	3760	4420				22526								
1793		1520			12013	3532						2443		





TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – 'single Dutch' (cont.) THEEGOED zonder oren – 'enkel Hollands' (vervolg)							TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS with handles 'single Dutch' THEEGOED met oren 'enkel Hollands'		
						polygonal hoekig			
23	24	25	26	27	1		1	4	14
1773									
1774									
1775									
1776									
1777									
1778	5016		8481		4780	44619			
1779		4980				15000	4162		
1780			5750	2935			5110	1239	
1783							4111	1297	
1784			2506				1110	4900	5215
1785									
1786									
1787									
1788									
1789									
1790									
1791									
1792									
1793					5005	1840			

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles –																
'small Dutch'																
THEEGOED zonder oren																
'klein Hollands'																
1	2	4	5	8	9	10	13	14	15	17	21	22	25	26	27	
1729																
1730																
1731																
1732																
1733																
1736																
1737																
1738																
1739																
1740      7240																
1742																
1743    70510            17979            8989    4647            11132    3792																
1744      8400																
1745      6347    9742																
1746																
1747    23247																
1748																
1749    10130																
1750    30071																
1751																
1752																
1753																
1757      7535    2030            4840    2940                            800																
1758    12150   14467   21929                            14060            460    8260    12870                            2400																
1759																
1760																
1761																
1762																
1763																
1764																
1765																
1766																
1767																
1768																
1769      5260   12310                            3890																
1770																
1771																
1772																
1773																

[illegible]

[illegible]

TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles – ‘small Dutch’ polygonal THEEGOED zonder oren ‘klein Hollands’ hoekig		TEA CUPS AND SAUCERS without handles doll’s tea cups and saucers  THEEGOED zonder oren ‘Poppegoed’							
1		1	4	8	9	10	13	14	20
1772									
1773									
1774									
1775									
1776									
1777									
1778									
1779									
1780	4050								
1783									
1784									
1785									
1786									
1787		8784	1300	2310	7816	8150			
1788		2610	1080	4950	1637			2008	
1789		5480	2826	3133	3660	3100		3350	
1790			2245	3066		2017			
1791									
1792								1984	
1793		6975	2006	4377	1130	1047	3400	902	1840

TEA POTS THEEPOTTEN													
	1	4	6	11	13	14	19	20	21	23	24	25	27
1729	810												
1730	3380												
1731	3296	536				1143							
1732	2899					1539							
1733	8609	805	2502			1098							
1736		60				289							
1737				2065	1910	1846							
1738				500	1350				85				
1739	384												
1740					237	190							
1742													
1743					832								
1744					600								
1745	1975												
1746	1971												
1747		600				400							
1748	2495	500											
1749	1184	433				224							
1750	599	63											
1751	578												
1752	1146	353											
1753	598	48				44							
1757													
1758	873	852											
1759	1840	127				208							
1760	960			506		512							
1761	468					324							
1762	581	671				590							
1763	288	363				129							
1764	511	623				419							
1765	294	722				545							
1766	438	127				484							
1767	1211	843				1275			325				
1768	265					370							
1769	856										495	159	
1770					454							480	
1771	141					202							
1772													
1773	855	494				304		306					
1774	3940	787				618		209					
1775	1682	431				300							

TEA POTS THEEPOTTEN												
1	4	6	11	13	14	19	20	21	23	24	25	27
1776	1548	210			400							
1777	1781	216			356							
1778	606	611			400			75				
1779	432	52							151	75		
1780	304	50			100		82					
1783	146	149			150							
1784	139				300							
1785	444				450							
1786	627				455							
1787	156				361							
1788	712				927							
1789	638											
1790	429				312							
1791	207											
1792	111				523							
1793	441				200		80					50





TEA AND COFFEE SERVICES THEE- en KOFFIESERVIEZEN												
1	4	14	15	18	20	21	22	23	24	26	27	
1776	70		50									
1777	63		96									
1778			152		50	50						
1779	114		115					13	13	48		
1780	74	19	134							26		
1783	92		150							31		
1784	283		227									
1785	116		180									
1786	127		128									
1787	130											
1788	50		62		20							
1789	12		28									
1790												
1791												
1792	63		20							20		
1793	52		66		14					50	25	

TUREENS with covers and stands round                                  oval TERRINES met onderschotels en deksels rond                                  ovaal					VASES with water basins VAZEN met waterbekken			VOMIT POTS with handles SPUUGPOTJES met oor	
1	4	14	19		1	4	14	1	4
1729									
1730									
1731									
1732									
1733									
1736									
1737	1773								
1738					10	8	10		
1739					10	10			
1740							12		
1742									
1743									
1744									
1745	197							2049	
1746	100	100						1017	
1747	240								
1748									
1749					125				
1750	226				20				
1751					87	24	24	606	
1752								540	70
1753	46	47	41	28					
1757									
1758									
1759			35						
1760									
1761	67	17	11		44		44		
1762									
1763	60								
1764	83		86		81	59	20		
1765	36	245					30		
1766	204	329	149		63				
1767	575	45	446		46	20			
1768									
1769	146				235				
1770					338				
1771					167				
1772	24		15						
1773	209								

TUREENS with covers and stands round                      oval TERRINES met onderschotels en deksels rond                      ovaal				VASES with water basins VAZEN met waterbekken			VOMIT POTS with handles SPUUGPOTJES met oor	
1	4	14	19	1	4	14	1	4
1774	270			270				
1775	252		120	255		120		
1776	80		46	80		46		
1777	159		43	163		42		
1778	72	66	67	78	73	66		
1779	25	15	25	25	25	15		
1780	26			51		54		
1783	25			26				
1784			26			25		
1785								
1786								
1787				17		12		
1788	24							
1789	48		36					
1790								
1791				315				
1792				72		30		
1793	57		76					

WALKING-STICK HANDLES ROTTINGKNOPPEN				
1	4	14	19	
1729				
1730				
1731				
1732				
1733				
1736				
1737	5043		5000	
1738				
1739				
1740				
1742				
1743	2760	4070		4100
1744				
1745				
1746				
1748				
1749				
1750				
1751				
1752				
1753				
1757				
1758				
1759				
1760				
1761				
1762				
1763				
1764				
1765				
1766				
1767				
1768				
1769				
1770				
1771				
1772				
1773				
1774				
1775				
1776				

WALKING-STICK HANDLES ROTTINGKNOPPEN				
1	4	14	19	
1777				
1778				
1779				
1780				
1783				
1784				
1785				
1786				
1787				
1788				
1789				
1790				
1791				
1792				
1793				

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Equipage Department (*departement equipage*) V.O.C. 4932, 4933

Department of Commerce (*departement commercie*) V.O.C. 6985-6, 6989, 6992-5, 6997-9, 7003, 7006, 7013-4

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Incoming Documents from the *Heeren XVII* (*ingekomen stukken van Heeren XVII*)

Documents from China Committee (*stukken China Commissie*) 1756–1767, V.O.C. 7472–6

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Coinage, weight and measures in Asia (*munten, maten en gewichten in Azië*) V.O.C. 11207–9

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Incoming and outgoing documents (*ingekomen en uitgaande stukken*) V.O.C. 14322

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Documents of financial character (*stukken van financiële aard*) 1797–1826, no's 329–365

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Documents regarding the Embassy to Peking (*stukken betreffende de ambassade naar Peking*) 1794–5, no. 238

##### B Council of the Asiatic Possessions (*Raad voor de Aziatische bezittingen*)

Documents concerning the China trade and the China Committee (*stukken betreffende de Chinabandel en de China commissie*) 1799–1805, no's 140-2, 206, 395, 404-5

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**Meerman-Van der Goes Collection (Collectie Meerman-Van der Goes)**

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**Nederburgh Collection (Collectie Nederburgh)**

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University Library, Leiden (*Universiteitsbibliotheek R.U. Leiden*), Department of Western Manuscripts (*Afdeling Westerse handschriften*)Documents Concerning the China trade and the China Committee (*stukken betreffende de Chinabandel en de China commissie*) 1750-1765, BPL 617Index to the letters to China (*register op de brieven naar China*) 1758-78, BPL 621I. Titsingh's report on the Embassy to Peking (*verslag van I. Titsingh over de Ambassade naar Peking*) 1794-5, BPL 2177Sinological Instituut, Leiden University (*Sinologisch Instituut, R.U. Leiden*)A. E. van Braam Houckgeest's report on the Embassy to Peking (*Verslag van A. E. van Braam Houckgeest van de Ambassade naar Peking*) 1794-5Prins Hendrik Maritime Museum, Rotterdam (*Scheepvaart-museum Prins Hendrik, Rotterdam*)C. H. Gietemaker's ms *'t vergulde licht der zeevaart*, with added notes about the trade in Canton (*ms. C. H. Gietemaker, "'t vergulde licht der zeevaart", met toegevoegde notities over de handel in Canton*)

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## Notes to Introduction

- 1 In France the term used is *Porcelaine de la Compagnie des Indes*. The confusing designation 'Oriental Lowestoft' current in the past, particularly in the United States, is no longer used in the literature nowadays. D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer (*Chinese export porcelain, Chine de Commande*, London 1974, pp. 15–6) includes all the export porcelain made for the European market under *Chine de Commande*, but this seems to me to be extending it too widely.
- 2 The first writer to take export porcelain as his central theme was F. Hirth in his *Ancient Porcelain. A Study in Chinese mediaeval industry and trade*, Leipzig/Shanghai, etc. 1888.
- 3 F. A. Crisp, *Armorial China, a catalogue of Chinese porcelain with coats of arms*, London 1907; A. Tudor-Craig, *Armorial Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century*, London 1925.
- 4 J. de Hullu, 'De Porceleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie en Cornelis Pronk als haar teekenaar', *Oud Holland*, 33 (1915), pp. 49–62.
- 5 I. G. A. N. de Vries, *Porselein. Chineesch en Europeesch porselein*, The Hague 1923.
- 6 H. E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porceleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek*, X, The Hague 1924, pp. 165–197.
- 7 These articles are reprinted in E. Gordon (ed.), *Chinese export porcelain. An historical survey*, New York 1975.
- 8 J. A. Lloyd Hyde, *Oriental Lowestoft. Chinese export porcelain. Porcelaine de la Cie. des Indes*, New York 1936, 2nd ed. Newport 1954.
- 9 T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as recorded in the Dagb-registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers 1602–1682*, Leiden 1954. As is already indicated in the subtitle, Volker did not conduct a systematic investigation into all the records concerned, but confined himself to printed sources and a number of unpublished documents, which are not, alas, always specified in the notes. His study could have been worked out in more detail, particularly by means of research into the correspondence between Batavia, the various offices in Asia and the Netherlands. An important part of the correspondence between Batavia and the Netherlands, namely the *Generale Missiven*, has been published by W. P. Coolhaas since 1960 in the R.G.P. To date he has got as far as 1725: W. P. Coolhaas (ed), *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaalen Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 7 vols., Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, 104, 112, 125, 134, 150, 159 and 164, The Hague 1960–79.
- 10 T. Volker, *The Japanese porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683*, Leiden 1959.
- 11 The following may be mentioned as the most important studies, in order of publication: J. A. Lloyd Hyde and R. E. S. S. Silva, *Chinese porcelain for the European market*, Lisbon 1956; J. Goldsmith Phillips, *China trade porcelain*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1956; M. Beurdeley, *Porcelaine de la Compagnie des Indes*, Fri-



- bourg 1962; J. McClure Mudge, *Chinese export porcelain for the American trade 1785–1835*, Newark 1962; B. L. Grandjean, *Dansk Ostindisk Porcelæn*, Copenhagen 1965; S. Roth, *Chinese porcelain imported by the Swedish East India Company*, Gothenborg 1965; D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chine de Commande*, Hilversum 1966 (English ed. London 1974); S. H. Park, *Chinesisches Auftragsporzellan der Ostasiatischen Handelskompanie in Embden*, Aurich 1973; C. le Corbeiller, *China trade porcelain, patterns of exchange*, New York 1974; D. S. Howard, *Chinese armorial porcelain*, London 1974; C. S. Woodward, *Oriental ceramics at the Cape of Good Hope*, Cape Town/Rotterdam 1974; H. Schiffer and others, *Chinese export porcelain*, Exton (Penn.) 1975; E. Gordon, *Collecting Chinese export porcelain*, London 1978; D. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West*, 2 vols., London/New York 1978; G. A. Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain*, London etc. 1979. Important exhibitions were: *Exposição de porcelana da Companhia das Índias*, Funchal 1960; *De Chinese porseleinkast*, travelling exhibition 1968–9, *China trade porcelain. A study in double reflections*, New York, China House Gallery, 1973–4; *Chinese export porcelain*, Newark Museum, Newark 1979.
- 12 J. de Hullu, 'Over den Chinaschen handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie in de eerste dertig jaren van de 18de eeuw', *Bijdragen T.L.V.* 78(1917), and *idem*, 'De instelling van de commissie voor de handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie op China in 1756', *ibid.* 79(1923). A problem in consulting De Hullu's articles is the fact that while he does mention his non-printed sources, he omits to include the archive numbers under which they are to be found. Thus for the present study the most important data have been checked and the archive numbers concerned have been given as far as possible in the references to his articles.
  - 13 H. P. N. Muller, 'Onze vaderen in China', *De Gids*, 1917.
  - 14 K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade 1620–1740*, Copenhagen/The Hague 1958, reprint The Hague 1980.
  - 15 C. van der Oudermeulen, 'Tets dat tot voordeel der deelgenoten van de Oost-Indische Compagnie en tot nut van ieder ingezeten van dit Gemeene Best kan strekken', in D. van Hoogendorp, *Stukken raakende den teegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost-Indië etc.*, The Hague/Delft 1801, pp. 41–133.
  - 16 (A. C. F. and L. L. Bierens de Haan) *Memorieboek van pakhuismeesteren van de thee in Amsterdam 1818–1918 in de loop der tijden*, Amsterdam (1918).
  - 17 As late as 1944 it was even thought that in the 18th century the Dutch had never had a factory in China at all: W. Wijnaends van Resandt, *De gezaghebbers der Oostindische Compagnie op hare buitencomptoiren in Azië*, Amsterdam 1944, p. 87.
  - 18 Among the few publications of source material relating to the China trade of other Companies the most important is still H. B. Morse, *Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China 1635–1834*, Vols. I–V, Oxford 1926–9, which deals with the China trade of the English East India Company. However, little attention is paid in it to the economic aspects, information about the purchasing of porcelain, for example, being scanty. The information given about the other Companies is not reliable, particularly as regards the Dutch East India Company. Another useful book is Earl H. Pritchard, *Anglo-Chinese relations during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, Urbana (Ill.) 1929.  
The comprehensive work by L. Dermigny, *La Chine et l'Occident. Le Commerce à Canton du XVIIIe siècle 1719–1833*, 4 vols., Paris 1964, must be handled critically as regards the statistics and facts relating to the trade of the various Companies, since Dermigny did not base himself on first-hand research in the records, apart from for the French trade, but on incomplete or out-of-date literature.  
A number of articles on the various Companies were published by H. Cordier in *T'oung Pao* (see bibliography). The China trade is discussed as part of the European trade in Asia in general in H. Furber, *Rival Empires of trade in the Orient 1600–1800*, Minneapolis 1976. Chinese source material, such as the administration of the customs at Canton, appears to have been lost.

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## Notes to Chapter I

- 1 Pieter van Dam, *Beschrijvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. F. W. Stapel, R. G. P. LXXIV, The Hague, 1931, Book II, Vol. I, p. 671.
- 2 For Chinese objects in 15th- and 16th-century collections, see, among other things, J. von Schlosser, *Die Kunst und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 31, 64 and 67; D. F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, Chicago 1970, Vol. II, Book I, pp. 7–45; H. Honour, *Chinoiserie*, London 1972, pp. 30–41; H. Garner, *Chinese export art in Schloss Ambras*, London, Oriental Ceramic Society, 1975; M. Spallanzani, *Ceramiche Orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento*, Firenze 1978.
- 3 C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825*, New York 1969, pp. 63–4. See for a general history of Macao: idem, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770. Fact and fancy in the history of Macao*, Oxford 1968<sup>2</sup>.
- 4 This is indicated by the fact that Chinese silks and porcelain were repeatedly given as gifts to rulers; D. F. Lach, *op. cit.* (Note 2), pp. 10, 13, 16. A thin-walled, transparent piece of porcelain was worth the price of several slaves in 1541: *ibid.*, p. 105. In 1588 the English Court possessed only four pieces of Chinese porcelain: H. Honour, *op. cit.* (Note 2), p. 37.
- 5 D. F. Lach (*op. cit.* (Note 2), p. 11) mentions the apothecaries' shops where Chinese medicaments such as rhubarb and China root were sold and the shops in the covered 'rua nova dos mercadores', where six dealers specializing in porcelain were to be found in 1580.
- 6 M. Beurdeley (*Porcelaine de la Compagnie des Indes*, Fribourg 1973, p. 76) quotes a 16th-century rhyme about the annual fair of Saint-Germain that makes this point:  
'Menez-moi chez les Portugais.  
Nous y verrons à peu de frais  
Les marchandises de la Chine  
Et de porcelaine fine'.
- 7 The Portuguese factory in Antwerp closed down in 1549 and from then on expensive piece goods no longer set the tone on the Scheldt market. See J. A. van Houtte, 'Het Economisch verval van het Zuiden' in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Utrecht 1952, Vol. V, p. 178. Even before that time, however, porcelain will only rarely have been offered for sale. In his *Etude sur les colonies marchandes meridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*, Louvain 1925, p. 267, J. A. Goris mentions only one instance of 1552–3, when a single chest of porcelain was imported by sea from Portugal. H. van der Wee (*The growth of the Antwerp market and the European economy 14th–16th centuries*, Louvain 1965), equally makes no mention of porcelain among the Asiatic products traded in. No other Chinese products are referred to in either of the two last-mentioned studies. The flourishing silk industry of the Southern Netherlands used Italian silk, not Chinese: H. van der Wee, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 181 and 274.
- 8 T. S. Jansma, 'De economische opbloei van het Noorden' in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Utrecht 1952, Vol. V, Chapter VII, pp. 210–27.
- 9 One influential travel account was that by Thomas

Cavendish, published by Richard Hakluyt in *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, London 1589, Vol. I, in which much was made of the riches of China. Very important sources of information were the books by Jan Huygen van Linschoten published in 1595 and 1596: *Itinerario Voyage ofde Schipvaert naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, ed. H. Kern, W.L.V. Vol. 2, The Hague 1910 and *Reysgheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloyers in Oriënten*, ed. J. C. M. Warnsinck, W.L.V. 43, The Hague 1939.

Van Linschoten had been in the service of the Portugese among other things as secretary to the Archbishop of Goa (1583–7). His books represent an assimilation of his own experiences and those of other Dutchmen who had travelled to Asia on Portuguese ships, such as the well-known ‘Dirck China’. In addition to practical information about sailing routes, countries, peoples and trade products, Linschoten also provided details of the organization of the Portuguese trade, from which it emerged that the Portuguese were not so powerful in Asia as had been thought.

- 10 For these voyages see S. P. l'Honoré Naber, *Reizen van Willem Barentsz, Jacob van Heemskerck, Jan Cornelis Rijp en anderen naar het Noorden (1594–1597)*, The Hague 1917; T. S. Jansma, *op. cit.* (Note 8), pp. 235–41.
- 11 Details of the various attempts made by the Dutch to trade with China in the first quarter of the 17th century are taken from W. P. Groeneveld, *De Nederlanders in China*, vol. I, *De eerste bemoeiingen om den handel in China en de vestiging in de Pescadore (1601–1624)*, The Hague 1898.
- 12 For the organization and a short, but up-to-date survey of the history of the Dutch East India Company see F. S. Gaastra, ‘De vaart buiten Europa. Het Aziatisch gebied’ in *Maritime Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, Bussum 1977, Vol. II, pp. 246–68 and Vol. III, pp. 266–94.
- 13 G. Silvestro (ed.), *Francesco Carletti, ragionamenti del mio viaggio etc.*, Torino 1958, 240–59. R. Fruin (‘Een onuitgegeven werk van Hugo de Groot’ in *Verspreide Geschriften*, ed. Blok and Muller, The Hague 1901, Vol. III, p. 407) does refer to the problem mentioned by Hugo de Groot of whether ‘Italian goods’ could form part of booty, but he connects it with the sale of the *Catharina* in 1604 and not that of the *San*

*Jago*. Hugo de Groot had undoubtedly given legal advice in the Carletti case and made use of the material in writing his famous *De Iure Praeadae*

- 14 R. Fruin, *op. cit.* (Note 13), pp. 383–98.
- 15 For the period 1640–90 recourse has mainly been had to J. E. Wills, *Pepper, Guns and Parleys – The Dutch East India Company and China, 1662–1681*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1974.
- 16 Joan Nieuhof, *Het gezantschap der Neêrlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarische Cham...* etc., Amsterdam 1665, English translation by J. Ogilby, London 1669. This published report of which many reprints and translations appeared, had a great influence on the later Chinoiserie mode, since the 150 or so copper engravings, made after drawings done on the spot in China by the steward Nieuhof, for the first time gave a wide public a visual image of all sorts of aspects of the highly mysterious Celestial Empire. The original drawings seem to be lost. See also C. Imbault Huart, ‘Le voyage de l’Ambassade Hollandaise de 1656 à travers de province de Canton’, *Journal of the China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, new series XXX-I, London 1897, 1–73.
- 17 The standard work on Formosa is still W. Campbell, *Formosa under the Dutch*, London 1903. However, the Dutch presence and trade on Formosa has recently become the subject of interest again. A research group of the Leiden centre for the history of European expansion, Leiden University, is working on an annotated edition of the ‘Dagh-registers’ of Fort Zeelandia, to be published in the R.G.P. series.
- 18 The report on this embassy was published as part of the account of the Dutch East India Company’s expeditions to the Chinese coast: O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaerdig bedrijf der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Maetschappij op de kuste en in het Keizerrijk van Taising of Sina*, Amsterdam 1670, English translation by J. Ogilby in A. Montanus, *Atlas Chinensis etc.*, London 1671. In it use was made of original documents, some of which have not survived and have only come down to us through this publication.
- 19 J. de Hullu, ‘De porceleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie en Cornelis Pronk als haar tekenaar’, *Oud Holland* 33 (1915), p. 51. Cited below as J. de Hullu, ‘De porceleinhandel’.

- 20 J. Vixbose, *Een Hollandsch Gezantschap naar China in de zeventiende eeuw (1685–1687)*, Leiden 1946.
- 21 J. de Hullu, 'Over den Chinaschen handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie in de 1e dertig jaar van de 18e eeuw', *Bijdragen T.L.V.*, 73 (1917), pp. 33–5. Cited below as J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel'. The information about the period 1690–1729 has largely been borrowed from this source.
- 22 The standard work for the English trade with China in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries is H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635–1834*, Vols. I–V, Oxford 1926–9. For the China trade in the 17th century see Vol. I, pp. 1–99, from which the information given here is derived.
- 23 For the development of tea drinking in the Netherlands see (A. C. F. and L. L. Bierens de Haan), *Memorieboek van pakhuismeesteren van de thee te Amsterdam, 1818–1918 en de Nederlandsche theehandel in de loop der tijden*, Amsterdam (1918), pp. 1–13, cited as *Memorieboek Pakhuismeesteren*; G. Schlegel, 'The first introduction of tea into Holland', *T'oung Pao II*, Vol. I (1900), pp. 468–72.; *Thema Thee*, exhibition catalogue, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam 1978.
- 24 J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 42–4.
- 25 F. Valentijn (*Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Dordrecht-Amsterdam 1726, Vol. IV, p. 348) gives the fixing of the price of tea as the prime reason for the prohibition of overseas trade by the Emperor of China and the ending of the junk traffic. J. de Hullu ('Chinahandel', pp. 41–2) cites Valentijn but also mentions the letters of 30 November 1717 and 20 March 1718 from the *Hoge Regering* to the *Heeren XVII*, in which the unrest in China is specifically stated to be the cause. K. Glamann (*Dutch-Asiatic trade 1620–1740*, Copenhagen/The Hague 1958, pp. 216–7) also opts for Valentijn's view, which is, however, extremely improbable.
- 26 C. M. Blankenhuyem, *Geschiedenis van de Compagnie van Ostende*, Leiden 1861; K. Degrijse, 'De Oostendse Chinahandel 1718–1735', *Spiegel Historiae*, 8 (1973), No. 12, pp. 678–83, and *idem*, 'De Oostendse Chinahandel (1718–1735)', *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor filologie en geschiedenis*, LII (1974) pp. 306–47. A good example of the numerous pamphlets and publications that reflect the disquiet in commercial circles is J. Bion, *Verhandelingen, daarin ontdekt werden de rampzalige gevolgen die de Engelse en Hollanders van de oprichting van de Compagnie van Oostende te vreesen hebben*, Amsterdam 1726. See also J. de Hullu 'Chinahandel', pp. 49–58.
- 27 The Ostend Company made an average 140% net profit on the China trade, as against only 10% on that with Bengal. The reasons for this were the lower costs of the China trade and the facts that more profitable articles (tea) could be bought in China and the competition there was not so heavy: R. Baetens, 'Investeren en rendement by de Generale Indische Compagnie: de handel op Bengalen vergeleken met de Chinahandel' in *Album aangeboden aan Charles Verlinden etc.*, Ghent 1975, pp. 17–42.
- 28 V.O.C. 326 letter from the *Heeren XVII* to G. G. and R. R. (Governor General and Council of the Indies), 28 Sept. 1719. See also J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', p. 52, where there is a quotation from this letter.
- 29 The argument for this was that the *Hoge Regering* thought that the stoppage of the junk traffic was only of a temporary nature. This traffic would probably have been ended for good by direct trade of their own with China and the town would thus lose the income from tolls and taxes. Moreover, the trade with China had to be conducted in silver and there was already a shortage of this for the trade with India. The government also did not want to damage the interests of the Chinese community in Batavia.
- 30 J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 47–9. Nevertheless, in 1722 the Chinese tea merchants made large losses on their exports to Batavia and thought of terminating this trade altogether: K. N. Chaudhuri, *The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company 1660–1760*, Cambridge 1978, p. 401.
- 31 V.O.C. 253, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 28 Oct. 1727; V.O.C. 164, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 22 Oct. and 11 Dec. 1727.
- 32 V.O.C. 327, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to G. G. and R. R., 15 March 1728, cited by J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 65–7.
- 33 V.O.C. 253, Res. Amsterdam, 11 Dec. 1727. The 'Masters' were not mentioned by name until the time of the preparations for the fourth voyage: by Res. Amsterdam, 27 Sept. 1731 the following were appointed as delegates 'for the furtherance of the ex-

pedition to China': Messrs. Trip, Van den Bempden, LeStevenon, De Vicq, Van Loon, Graafland, Six, and the two advocates. Because of pressure of business Geelvink was replaced by Boreel.

By Res. Amsterdam, 11 Aug. 1732 were appointed: Sautijn, Van den Bempden, Geelvink, Van Buuren, Du Fay, De Wilhem and the two advocates.

By Res. Amsterdam, 10 Sept. 1733: Sautijn, Schuijt, Graafland, Du Fay, the two lawyers and 'the Masters of the Warehouse.'

By Res. Amsterdam, 8 March 1734: Le Stevenon, Sautijn, Boreel, Graafland, the two advocates and the Masters of the Warehouse.

- 34 The first voyage of the *Coxhorn* and the transactions in China are described in detail by J. de Hullu in 'Chinahandel' pp. 71–115, and by M. Vigelius, 'De stichting van de factorij der Oost Indische Compagnie te Canton', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 48 (1933), pp. 168–79.
- 35 V.O.C. 7258, Minutes of Zeeland Chamber, 5 Oct., 19 Oct. and 9 Nov. 1730.
- 36 Some information is still to be found in the reports of the Amsterdam supercargos, V.O.C. 4376 and 4378, in which the Zeelanders are mentioned in passing. In Radermacher Coll. No. 118 can be found the printed manifests of the *Nieuwliet* (1732) and of the *Nieuwliet* and *Anna Catharina* together (1734). The proceeds of the Zeeland sales are given in V.O.C. 4595, 'General Statements'.
- 37 J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', p. 70.
- 38 A little more has been discovered about this man, in contradistinction to the many supercargos of whom we know only their names. Yet it was precisely people like Sweerts who did the actual work, made possible the profits and constituted the pivot of the Company's activities. In Radermacher Coll. No. 495 there is a petition of 1756, in which he asks to be appointed again as supercargo for China. From an appended confidential report it emerges that Willem Sweerts went to the East Indies in 1703 as a soldier on the *Drie Croonen*. According to the ship's paybook he came from Amsterdam. In Batavia he was appointed clerk and rose to be bookkeeper. In 1705 he sailed in this capacity on the flute *Vosschenbosch* 'to the unknown Southland and on the death of all the officers he rendered an account to the Government of the Indies of their discovery and operation'. For this see J. E. Heeres, *Het aandeel van de Nederlanders in de ontdekking van Australië 1606–1765*, Leiden 1899, pp. 87–9.
- 39 Diderik van Buuren was director for Amsterdam and delegate for the China trade in 1732: J. E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795*, Amsterdam 1963 (2), pp. 729–30. Jan van Buuren was first supercargo on the *Coxhorn* in 1731. The fact that the name of the ship tallies with that of these persons is striking – perhaps a little example of the influence a director could exercise?
- 40 V.O.C. 7258, Minutes of Zeeland Chamber, 22 Nov. 1731.
- 41 The normal salary for a chief factor was 80 guilders a month, for a factor 60 guilders, for a sub-factor 40 guilders, for a bookkeeper 30 guilders and for an assistant 20 guilders. K. Glamann (*op. cit.* (note 25), p. 238) suggests that these high salaries were paid in emulation of the Ostend Company, in order to attract experienced merchants but in view of the numerous applicants for the posts this cannot have been the real reason; see V.O.C. 7258, Res. Zeeland Chamber, 15 Oct. and 8 Nov. 1730.
- 42 On the third expedition to China the number of chests on the return voyage was reduced by one for the first supercargo and two for the others together. In 1732 it was laid down as a general rule that factors returning home might bring with them ten baskets containing eighty pounds of tea (chief factors were allowed twelve baskets). For the supercargos on the China ships this amount was increased to fifteen baskets: V.O.C. 165. Res. *Heeren XVII*, 13 Oct. 1732. See also J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 70–1 for a detailed survey of the 'permitted goods' in general.

- 43 For the consignments of money to China as part of the role played by silver in the Asiatic trade of the Dutch East India Company as a whole see F. S. Gastra, 'De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw: de groei van een bedrijf. Geld tegen goederen. Een structurele verandering in het Nederlands-Aziatisch handels-verkeer', *B.M.G.N.* 91 (1976), pp. 262–5.
- 44 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 14 Sept. 1731 and V.O.C. 255, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 1 Nov. 1731. In the instructions to the ships' captains, however, Amoy is recommended only as a port of refuge and no calls were made there during the period of the first direct traffic with China. No further mention is made of the Liège serge or the indigo either.
- 45 V.O.C. 164, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 7 Sept. 1730. There is, indeed, a considerable difference between the tea prices of 1729 and 1730. In 1729 73 cents a pound was paid for Bohea tea, 1 guilder 2 cents for Congou tea and 1 guilder 69 cents for Hyson tea. In 1730 these prices were 56 cents, 89 cents and 1 guilder 27 cents respectively. There is little point in making comparisons with the prices paid by the English, because they too were said to have been guilty of the same offence: H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (note 22), Vol. I, pp. 202–3.
- 46 For the Danish China trade see K. Larsen, *Den Danske Kinafart*, Copenhagen 1932; for the Swedish S. T. Kjellberg, *Svenska Ostindiska Kompagniera 1731–1813*, Malmö 1975.
- 47 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 22), Vol. I, p. 193; K. N. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 391, 398–9. That this obstruction did not succeed was partly due to the fact that many Chinese merchants had relations in Batavia who could have been damaged by such a measure (*idem*, p. 406).
- 48 According to a letter of 14 Dec. 1731 from Sir Matthew Decker to the Company's lawyer Abraham Westerveen, cited by J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', p. 100.
- 49 V.O.C. 7177, Ledger 1728–32, fol. 500; V.O.C. 7150, Daybook 1728–32; V.O.C. 7178, Ledger 1732–6, fols. 20 and 385; V.O.C. 7151, Daybook 1732–6.
- 50 K. Glamann, *op. cit.* (Note 25), pp. 45–7 and 260.
- 51 The data regarding dates of building and lengths are taken from V.O.C. 4936. K. Glamann (*op. cit.* (Note 25), p. 260) gives 54, 141 guilders as the value of the *Coxhorn* on her departure in 1730. However, that is the value of the hull plus that of the cannon, the cannonballs, the galley equipment, the firewood, etc. For the first voyage of the *Coxhorn* he gives only the value of the hull and he ought to have done so for the second voyage as well. The *Voorduijn*, which sailed in 1732, was damaged by gales. Her cargo was transferred in Zeeland to the *Sorghwijck* and this ship continued the voyage under the name *Voorduijn*. In connection with the costs of wear and tear a comparison can be made with a piece of information from a later period. In 1759 there arose a conflict over the bounty due to the supercargos of the *Slooten* (in China in 1757–8). The supercargos made up a profit and loss account of their own at that time, putting the costs of wear and tear on the *Slooten* at 40% (24,000 guilders) of her value on departure. The *Slooten* was a 150-foot ship built in 1746. See Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1893, 29-R, separate note in the *Slooten* Papers.
- 52 In addition to the Ledgers, the profits are also specified in two other sources, namely in V.O.C. 4592, 'General Statements of the goods handled' 1730–9, and in V.O.C. 6989, 'Collocation of the Sales' 1693–1760. The 'General Statements' gives a financial survey of all the Chambers for each financial year (from June to June) and includes, among other things, detailed surveys of the proceeds on the sales of all the goods sold. In this the return shipments from China for the period 1729–34 are mentioned separately. In the 'Collocation' are likewise given all the proceeds from sales for all the Chambers. The minor discrepancies that exist between the Ledgers and these two sources probably result from whether or not the costs of the sales, loss of interest etc. are passed on and amount at the most to a few thousand guilders.
- 53 These are included in the books with the papers that came over from the voyages in question, V.O.C. 4374–4378. The papers of the *Noordwolfsbergen* (1734) are lost, alas, although the ship arrived safe and sound in Texel.
- 54 K. Glamann (*op. cit.* (Note 25) says that 1 tael weight has a touch of 94. A touch of 100 equals 19 Cologne

- loten* (a *lot* = half an ounce). Ducatoons were valued at 96 touch, piastres at 95 and rials at 94. One tael weight is 1/16th of a catty or 38.3 grams. The value of the tael is calculated as follows: 1729–fl. 3.64, 1731–fl. 3.57, 1732–fl. 3.64, 1733–fl. 3.55. The values for 1731 and 1733 agree with the Zeelanders' conversions for those years as given in the 'Memorandum in which is shown at what value the tael was valued in various years', Radermacher Coll. No. 495.
- 55 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 4 March, 26 and 28 Aug. 1732. See also J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 126–9, where extensive quotations are given from the proposals.
- 56 V.O.C. 255, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 14 Aug., 13 Sept. and 10 Nov. 1732. The decision of the *Heeren XVII* (26 Aug.) to fix the salary of the supercargo at 80 guilders a month was disregarded.
- 57 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 24 Aug. 1733.
- 58 V.O.C. 2215, fols. 6211–6242, Res. G. G. and R. R., 9 March 1733. It was at the same time suggested that part of the China trade should be left to free burghers of Batavia. J. de Hullu ('Chinahandel', pp. 129–45) cites the objections and proposals of the *Hoge Regering* at great length.
- 59 V.O.C. 2219, 'Written opinion... concerning the Navigation and trade conducted by the Company from the Netherlands and Batavia to and from China'. The discussions between Director-General Westpalm and Blom regarding this question are to be found in the duplicate resolutions of 13, 17 and 18 March 1733: V.O.C. 2218, fols. 7348–7355. See also V.O.C. 2216, fols. 6592–6603 and 6609–6616. J. de Hullu ('Chinahandel', pp. 145–6) quotes from Blom's proposal.
- 60 V.O.C. 256, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 8 March 1734.
- 61 For this question and its aftermath see V.O.C. 255 and 256, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 21, 24 and 29 Sept., 8 and 12 Oct., 12, 19 and 26 Nov. 1733 and 8 March 1734. Disciplinary measures followed: the smuggled goods were confiscated and salaries withheld. Those involved defended themselves, some of the lawsuits lasting until 1741. Pieter Verleij, captain of the *Knappenboff*, must have gone particularly far. A letter was even sent to the Cape asking for the recovery of 20 chests of tea which he was said to have deposited there with a certain Jan de Witt; see V.O.C. 352, letter from Amsterdam Chamber to the Cape, 9 Dec. 1733.
- 62 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 11 and 12 March 1734; V.O.C. 328, letters of the *Heeren XVII* to G. G. and R. R., 12 March 1734, 20 Nov. 1735, 12 Sept. 1736. See also J. De Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 147–50.
- 63 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 7 March 1732.
- 64 V.O.C. 166, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 28 Feb. and 3 March 1739.
- 65 The distribution among the Chambers was as follows: in the ship for Amsterdam a quarter of the cargo was reserved for Hoorn and Enkhuizen, in that for Zeeland one quarter was reserved for Rotterdam and Delft. The Resolution of the *Heeren XVII* of 28 Aug. 1742, V.O.C. 168, brought about a change in this. Starting from 1743 one ship was for Amsterdam and one for Zeeland; in 1744 one ship for Amsterdam and one for Delft and Rotterdam; in 1745 one for Amsterdam and one for Zeeland; in 1746 one for Amsterdam and one for Hoorn and Enkhuizen; in 1747 they started at the beginning again. If a ship was destined for the Northern or Southern Quarter, the Chambers in question took it in turns to bear the costs of fitting out.
- 66 V.O.C. 2410, letter from Batavia to Canton, 21 Nov. 1737; V.O.C. 2682, report from Canton to Batavia, 10 Feb. 1747. In 1754 this ruling was altered to allow a first supercargo to send six chests as freight, a second three, a third two and the remaining supercargos and assistants one: Arch. Canton 18, appendices to the resolution of 1754.
- 67 V.O.C. 170, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 9 Sept. 1750.
- 68 According to a note by Radermacher, cited by J. de Hullu, 'De Instelling van de commissie voor den handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie op China in 1756', *Bijdragen T.I.V.*, 79 (1923), p. 253. This article is cited below as J. de Hullu, 'Instelling commissie'.
- 69 V.O.C. 167, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 2 April 1742. The freight charge for tea amounted to 35% of the proceeds of the sale (or 40% including all costs).

- For porcelain it was 50% at first, but this was speedily reduced to 40%. For the control of goods sent as freight and the indemnification of them see also Res. G. G. and R. R., 4 June 1743, 10 July and 14 Aug. 1744, and Res. *Heeren XVII*, 28 Aug. 1744, in answer to the letters from G.G. and R.R. of 3 July and 15 Oct. 1743; J. A. van der Chijs, *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek 1602–1811*, Batavia–The Hague 1885–1900, Vol. V, p. 19.
- 70 G. W. van Imhoff, ‘Consideration over den teegenwoordigen Staat van de Nederlandsche Oost Indische Maatschappij’, ed. J. E. Heeres, *Bijdragen T.L. V.*, 66 (1912). The ‘Considerations’ were put before the *Heeren XVII* at the meeting of 21 Nov. 1741.
- 71 In his ‘Reflections on the Annual Returns’, put before the Council of the East Indies on 14 March 1747, Van Imhoff had proposed freeing the trade in gold and Chinese silk as well. In their resolution of 12 Sept. 1748, V.O.C. 170, the *Heeren XVII* allowed gold to be sent under recognisance on payment of 3% in Batavia, but completely rejected free trade in raw silk and silk textiles.
- 72 V.O.C. 168, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 28 Aug. 1744. The bounty was divided up as follows: a third part went to the first supercargo, a quarter to the second, a sixth to the third and a quarter to the fiscal and clerks together.
- 73 Toussain was detailed to conduct an enquiry into the activities of the supercargos F. C. Roemer and E. L. Temminck, who had remained behind in Canton after the conclusion of trading in 1751, in order to buy up cheap tea for the Company. Rumours had been spread around to the effect that they had practised deception in so doing. However, there was no written evidence for this. The Chinese merchants refused to give any information and the enquiry came to nothing. See V.O.C. 2788, letter to Batavia, 30 Nov. 1751, fols. 857–63.
- 74 In V.O.C. 6989 ‘Collocation of Sales’, the proceeds on tea and porcelain on freight of all the Chambers put together were carried over in a single entry. It is clear that sizable sums were involved:
- |                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1744–fl. 343,522 | 1748–fl. 826,723 |
| 1745–fl. 903,627 | 1749–fl. 418,822 |
| 1746–fl. 734,777 | 1750–fl. 649,685 |
| 1747–fl. 758,856 | 1751–fl. 726,767 |
| 1752–fl. 568,362 | 1756–fl. 65,331  |
| 1753–fl. 408,916 | 1757–fl. —       |
| 1754–fl. 70,264  | 1758–fl. 7,535   |
| 1755–fl. 34,414  |                  |
- 75 V.O.C. 169, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 10 Nov. 1747.
- 76 In 1747, for example, the prices rose as follows in respect of those of 1746, owing to the great demand: Bohea tea 1.2 taels per picul, Congou, Pekoe and Bing 2–4 taels. Singlo and Hyson remained about the same, but, curiously enough, Souchong became 2 taels cheaper despite being much in demand.
- 77 The Emden Company was obliged to end its activities as early as 1756, on account of the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War. For a historical survey of the Company’s origins and foundation see H. Cordier, ‘La Compagnie Prusienne d’Emden au XVIII siècle’, *T’oung Pao* XIX (1920), pp. 127–243.
- 78 V.O.C. 4380, Report of the supercargos from Canton to the *Heeren XVII*, 17 Nov. 1754.
- 79 M. G. Buist, *At spes non fracta. Hope & Co. 1770–1815, merchants, bankers and diplomats at work*, The Hague 1974, pp. 9–10.
- 80 J. Hovij, *Het voorstel van 1751 tot instelling van een beperkt vrijhaven stelsel in de Republiek*, Groningen 1966, pp. 344–5 and 362.
- 81 William IV had been Director-in-Chief of the Company since 1749. However, he seldom attended its meetings himself, preferring to let representatives stand in for him. He also had the right to nominate people to certain posts. Thus in 1751 he put F. B. Brand forward as bookkeeper or assistant in China (V.O.C. 171, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 27 Aug. 1751) and Brand did indeed work in Canton from 1754 onwards, first as assistant, later as supercargo.
- 82 William IV’s (written?) request has not been preserved, but the questions he asked can be deduced from the point by point answers (see note 83).
- 83 The memoranda were presented on 17 Aug. 1751. That of Hartman is entitled ‘Considerations regarding the trade with China presented to His Serene Highness in all reverence on the highly esteemed orders of the same’, that of the representatives ‘Considerations regarding some articles touching the



- trade with China on which His Highness has asked for information'. Both documents are to be found in the Hope Collection, no. 8471. Three identical copies of the representatives' memorandum, under the headings 'Memorandum concerning the trade with China direct from the Fatherland' or 'Considerations against the direct trade with China from the Fatherland', are extant in the almost unknown collection of Dutch East India Company documents, which came from the advocate Van Son, in the University Library at Leiden, Western Manuscripts Dept., B.P.L. 617, Vol.3.
- 84 V.O.C. 171, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 25 Sept. 1751. See also V.O.C. 332, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to G.G. and R.R., 27 Sept. 1751, in which the threat from the Emden Company is expressly mentioned as a reason.
- 85 F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Amsterdam 1930, pp. 180–1.
- 86 'Reflections on the intrinsic State of the Chartered Dutch East India Company... to demonstrate its true, but critical situation', 28 Nov. 1752. A printed copy is to be found in V.O.C. 172 after Res. *Heeren XVII*, 28 March 1754. Regarding China Mossel wrote, 'Canton, a genuinely profitable place, is not visited by so many nations for nothing, yet none can do so well there as the Dutch Company and I fancy that it would be expedient that at least 4 ships should return from there to the Netherlands'. He calculated both the clear profit on the goods taken to China by Batavia and that on Chinese merchandise sold in the Netherlands to be 500,000 guilders a year.
- 87 In their letter to G.G. and R.R. of 6 Sept. 1745, V.O.C. 327, the *Heeren XVII* asked the advice of the *Hoge Regering* regarding the proposal of the director in Surat. From V.O.C. 331, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to G.G. and R.R., 10 Sept. 1746, it emerges that Batavia had already sent the ship the *Verwachting* to Surat via Canton in 1744 on its own initiative and although the results were not yet known, the *Heeren XVII* provisionally gave their approval to this regular service.
- 88 In a letter of 27 Sept. 1751 from the *Heeren XVII* to G.G. and R.R. the Surat trade is described as reasonably successful, although the clear profit was only 20%. In a letter of 8 Oct. 1752 to Batavia a gain of 22% is mentioned and the *Heeren XVII* ask for a specific account of profits and losses. Finally, in their letter of 8 Oct. 1753 it is recommended that the trade be stopped and this injunction is repeated in stronger terms in a letter of 10 Oct. 1754. These letters are all to be found in V.O.C. 332, with the exception of the last, which is in V.O.C. 333.
- 89 A printed copy of the 'Rescription' is to be found in V.O.C. 172, appended to Res. *Heeren XVII*, 28 March 1754. See also J. de Hullu, 'Instelling commissie', pp. 525–8.
- 90 Hope Collection, No. 8479, 'Correspondence with Governor-General Mossel regarding the critical State'. The document is entitled 'Preliminary introductory discourse to the Gentlemen Principal Shareholders in fulfilment of the Resolution of the Committee of the Meeting of the *Heeren XVII* on 20 March 1754'. It consists of rough notes for an address to the *Haagsch Besogne*, followed by notes on the discussions that followed and the discussion of the proposals of the principal shareholders. It is dated 24 July 1754. While J. de Hullu does give extensive quotations from the notes on the meeting ('Instelling commissie', pp. 528–34), he says nothing at all about the 'preliminary discourse' and its contents.
- 91 Hope became sworn principal shareholder for the Amsterdam Chamber in 1752 as a replacement for Simon Emtinck, who had died: V.O.C. 265, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 24 Aug. 1752.
- 92 J. de Hullu, 'Instelling commissie', p. 534.
- 93 The trade reports sent annually to Batavia from Canton by the supercargos also included a detailed 'General Situation Account'. Much shorter financial surveys based on these accounts are to be found in the minutes of the *Haagsch Besogne* for the years in question under the heading 'China' (V.O.C. 4471–78).
- 94 The trading capital could be augmented by loans from Chinese merchants (at a minimum rate of interest of 2% a month), by capital carried over from the previous trading season and by money that private individuals paid into the Company's coffers at Canton against bills of exchange. For the important role played by the traffic in bills of exchange in the financing of the Asiatic trade of the Dutch East India Company see F. S. Gastra, *op. cit.* (Note 43), pp. 256–60. The supercargos in Canton also made use of this possibility to transfer privately

- earned money in an advantageous manner. They received interest of around 8% on their bills of exchange, which could be cashed in Batavia or Amsterdam after six or eight months. It is interesting to see how much money they were able to pay in. In 1752 the director R. Blok deposited 3,000 guilders, A. Loofs (first supercargo) 6,000 and R. Toussain (second supercargo) 1,000, while E. de Wendt (third supercargo) was even able to pay in as much as 10,000 guilders: V.O.C. 2800, letter to Batavia, 7 Nov. 1752.
- 95 V.O.C. 988, 'Outgoing Letter-book of Batavia', Instruction to the supercargos, 4 June 1735. Batavia reckoned in so-called 'light money', which stood in relation to the 'heavy money' in the Netherlands at 1:1.25. Thus the tael goes up from 3 guilders 60 cents to 4 guilders, if one reckons by the Netherlands conversion rate. In all the present calculations 'light money' has been converted into 'heavy money', in order to make a correct comparison possible.
- 96 N. P. van den Berg, 'Munt-, crediet en bankwezen, handel en scheepvaart in Nederlandsch Indië', *Historisch-Statistische Bijdragen*, The Hague 1907, pp. 46–8.
- 97 V.O.C. 996, 'Outgoing Letter-book of Batavia', Instruction to the supercargos, 2 July 1743. The *Heeren XVII* approved the revaluation in their letter of 6 Sept. 1745 on the East Indies, V.O.C. 330. In succeeding years too it was expressly stated that the tael was equal to 88 'heavy' stuivers, *i.e.* 4 guilders 40 cents.
- 98 The trade report for 1739, V.O.C. 2467, still mentions a gain of 8.3% on silver, but in the year that followed the profit on rials, the principal constituent of the specie taken out, gradually declined. From the trade reports it appears that in 1747 there was a loss of 0.6%, in 1749 a gain of 1%, in 1751 a loss of 0.3%, in 1753 a gain of 1.2% and 1755 a gain of 1.7%.
- 99 For the English attempts to break the Dutch East India Company's pepper monopoly on Bandjarmassin see H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 22), Vol. I, pp. 262 and 287.
- 100 In its instruction of 4 June 1735, V.O.C. 988, the *Hoge Regering* authorized the supercargos to allow 2% on the purchases for 'extraordinary expenses' on the model of the custom at Batavia. This regulation also remained in force after 1757. These expenses were carried over by the supercargos on the invoices as part of the total purchase price of a return shipment. All the other costs were mentioned separately. The value of the return shipments in Appendices 5–7 also includes this 2%.
- 101 V.O.C. 6989, 'Collocation of Sales', 1693–1760.
- 102 K. Glamann, *op. cit.* (Note 25), pp. 272–8.
- 103 K. N. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 396–7, table A 19.
- 104 V.O.C. 267, Res. Amsterdam, 27 March 1755.
- 105 V.O.C. 172, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 11 April 1755.
- 106 V.O.C. 333, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to G.G. and R.R., 12 April 1755. J. de Hullu gives extensive quotations from this in 'Instelling Commissie', pp. 536–7. The sending of the so-called 'Batavia China ship' to fetch goods from China needed by Batavia was also forbidden.
- 107 V.O.C. 172, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 14 Oct. 1755. The deliberations and minutes of this Committee were secret. The members nominated were, for the Amsterdam Chamber: Jan Calkoen, Reynier Bouwens and David de Wilhem; for the Zeeland Chamber: Samuel Radermacher, with Johan Constantin Mathias as substitute; and for the principal representatives Thomas Hope, of course, while Cornelis van der Hoop, the principal advocate, also had a seat on it.
- 108 The minutes of the meetings over the years 1756–61 have been preserved and are appended to the 'Instructions', 'Requirements' and other outgoing documents. V.O.C. 4542 contains the minutes from 9 Nov. 1756 up to and including 3 Sept. 1761. Copies of the minutes of 1756 and 1757 are to be found in V.O.C. 4557. The minutes for the later years have not survived, apart from some fragmentary minutes for just a few years. Thus the internal organization is unknown for the period after 1761.
- 109 The China Committee did away with this post again as early as 1759, giving the direction to the first supercargo or 'Principal' (Hoofd). Not until 1771 was a director appointed again, see also Appendix 2. It is notable that the Committee did not appoint

- anyone who had gained experience in the China trade over the preceding years, but placed more confidence in outsiders. In 1759 it even appointed an Englishman, Arthur Abercromby, an acquaintance of Hope's (see their correspondence in Hope Coll. No. 8411). F. C. Roemer put in a request to be appointed director, but was turned down. He had been a supercargo in Canton from 1749 to 1751 and he appended to his request a survey of the China trade, 'Considerations regarding the trade with China', Hope Coll., No. 8411.
- 110 After a period of experimentation the computation of the bounties was finally fixed at  $1/8\%$  of the profits on the return shipments for the lowest ranking assistant and  $3/16\%$  for the others,  $1/4\%$  for the third supercargo,  $3/8\%$  for the second and  $5/8\%$  for the principal: V.O.C. 4542, minutes of China Committee, 3 Sept. 1761.
- 111 V.O.C. 4542, minutes of China Committee, 2 Oct. 1758. In 1765 the numbers were fixed:  $4\frac{1}{2}$  'one-foot chests' for the principal, 3 for each supercargo and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for each assistant.
- 112 V.O.C. 4548, minutes of China Committee, 25 Aug. 1762; see also the letters to Delft and Rotterdam about this in the correspondence between Hope and Van Son, University Library, Leiden, Western Manuscripts Dept., B.P.L. 617, Vol. 3.
- 113 V.O.C. 4542, letter from China Committee to G.G. and R.R., 10 Oct. 1759.
- 114 V.O.C. 4548, minutes of China Committee, 3 Oct. 1762; Edict of *Hoge Regering*, 2 and 10 June 1763: J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. VII, pp. 653–5. The supercargos were concerned about their own responsibility for the conduct and creditworthiness of the free burghers in respect of the Chinese authorities, Arch. Canton 278, trade report to Batavia, 24 Dec. 1763. The decision was rescinded by Res. G.G. and R.R., 13 Dec. 1774.
- 115 V.O.C. 4414, letter from Batavia to Canton, 20 June 1776.
- 116 From the trade report to Batavia of 24 Dec. 1773, Arch. Canton 278, it appears that an average of 388 guilders was paid for 10 taels weight (about 380 grams) of 24 carat gold.
- 117 V.O.C. 4419, General Report to Batavia, 14 Jan. 1780. Moreover, trading in silver was disadvantageous owing to the great scarcity of silver in Europe.
- 118 A number of bills of lading with explanations in the Chinese of the skippers have been preserved, e.g. in Arch. Canton 127, Batavian Documents 1764 and Arch. Canton 277, Batavian Documents 1768. The freight charge was around 3 rixdollars a picul.
- 119 Moreover, it must be remembered that the goods from Batavia yielded a gross profit of 80 to 100% on average, while a few percent at the most was all that could be expected from the cloth and silver from the Netherlands. Admittedly in V.O.C. 4400, 'Note on the moneys sent out from the Netherlands', an average profit of 30% on silver is mentioned for the period 1763–6, but this conflicts completely with the figures in the daybooks of the factory.
- 120 The figures are taken from daybooks and ledgers in V.O.C. 4381 (1757), 4382 (1758), 4386 (1760), 4389 (1761), 4394 (1762 and 1763), 4397 (1764 and 1765) and 4399 (1766). The daybook and ledger for 1759 are lost. During the period 1757–69 the value of the tael was fixed at fl. 3.52 and thereafter at fl. 3.60: Arch. Canton 135, letter from China Committee, 26 Sept. 1769.
- 121 F. J. A. Broeze, 'Het einde van de Nederlandse thee-handel op China', *Economisch Historisch Jaarboek*, 34 (1971), p. 133. For a survey of English taxes on tea in the 18th century see H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 22), Vol. II, pp. 114–6.
- 122 *Memorieboek Pakhuismeesteren*, pp. 40–2; see also H.B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 22), Vol. I., pp. 295–6.
- 123 The correspondence regarding this is extensive. See, for example, Arch. Canton 157, letter from China Committee to Canton, 27 Nov. 1782, or Arch. Canton 159, No. 59, letter from G. G. and R.R. to Canton, undated (1783). The captured *Paerl* was bought from the English by Middelburg merchants, who sold her back to the Company again, see V.O.C. 11458. An interesting eye-witness account of the English attack is to be found in the Meerman van der Goes Collection, No. 148, while there is also material in the Van Plettenburg Collection, No. 35.
- 124 V.O.C. 4423, report to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1782. The

- captain of the *Goede Hoop* was Antonio Pierens, the factors Sebastiaan van de Graaf and Anthonij de Stille. After the return of the cargo the money and a chest of pearls could not be traced. In 1782 the ship was sold in Bombay to an English private trader.
- 125 V.O.C. 190, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 9 Aug. 1782; Arch. Canton 157, letters from China Committee to Canton, 10 Oct. and 5 Dec. 1782. These ‘Prussian ships’ were the Company’s own vessels, the *Sparenrijk* renamed as the *Potsdam*, the *Venus* as the *Ooster Eem* and the *Blok* as the *Breslau*, which were sold by the Company and hired back again: V.O.C. 4936, Outgoing Ships Book’. The Company’s own risk was 100,000 guilders per ship, the rest being insured: V.O.C. 190, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 3 Dec. 1782.
- 126 V.O.C. 191, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 17 June 1783. See also V.O.C. 3975, letter from China Committee to Batavia, 15 July 1783, and Arch. Canton, letter from China Committee to Canton, 14 July 1783.
- 127 In 1783 the Company received 9,300,000 guilders of the 14 million it had asked for ‘as aid’ from the States of Holland, in 1784 over 1½ million of the 6 million asked for: B. van der Oudermeulen, ‘Iets dat tot voordeel der deelgenoten van de Oost Indische Compagnie en tot nut van ieder ingezetenen van dit Gemeene best kan strekken’ (1785), included in D. van Hoogendorp, *Stukken raakende den teegenwoordigen toestand der Bataafsche bezittingen in Oost Indië...*, The Hague/Delft 1801, pp. 43 and 133–4.
- 128 During their stay in Canton in 1784 the American supercargos bought another ship, the *Pallas*, from an English private trader and loaded it up, thus returning to the United States with two ships instead of one. The captain of the *Pallas* was a certain O’Donell. See V.O.C. 4426, General Report, 31 Jan. 1785.
- 129 See for the American China trade: K. S. Latourette, *The history of early relations between the United States and China 1784–1844*, New Haven 1917; H. Cordier, ‘Américains et Français à Canton au 18e siècle’, *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, Paris 1898; J. Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China trade 1682–1846*, University Park (Penn.) 1978.
- 130 *Memorieboek Pakhuismeesteren*, pp. 42–3
- 131 Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee to Canton, 17 Sept. 1785.
- 132 B. van der Oudermeulen, *op. cit.* (Note 127), pp. 283–4.
- 133 F. J. A. Broeze, *op. cit.* (Note 121), p. 134. See also J. J. Voûte, *Aanmerkingen over den theehandel*, Amsterdam 1787.
- 134 V.O.C. 4433, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 11 July 1786, and V.O.C. 4435, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 9 Oct. 1787.
- 135 This problem constantly crops up in the correspondence between the Netherlands and Batavia, see, for example, V.O.C. 4433, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 11 July 1786; V.O.C. 4438, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 28 Sept. 1788, and V.O.C. 4442, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 25 Sept. 1789. Tin had long been smuggled out of Palembang by Chinese in seven or eight junks specially built for the purpose in Siam: Arch. Canton 127, ‘Batavian Instructions’ 1764. The English did not smuggle openly themselves, but asked passing ships in the Malacca Straits to ‘buy’ tin from them, carry it to Canton and then sell it back to them again, 10% interest then being allowed on the purchase price: V.O.C. 4438, General Report, 31 Dec. 1788.
- 136 That the China Committee expected the expedition to produce results in this respect is clear from Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee to Canton, 18 Oct. 1785.
- 137 V.O.C. 4445, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 17 Aug. 1790, in which the *Hoge Regering* put up a feeble defence against this allegation. This ship had as its cargo nearly 500,000 pounds of tin. Apart from smuggling, the English also acquired tin from minor rulers via Malacca, while they further had concessions to exploit tin mines of their own on the island of Poulo Pinang: J. de Hullu, ‘De Engelsen op Poeloe Pinang en de tinhandel der Nederlandsche Oost-Indische Compagnie in 1788’, *Bijdragen T.L.V.*, 77 (1921), pp. 605–14.
- A great deal of information about the tin trade outside the Company was collected by A. E. van Braam Houckgeest in 1789, when, through the incompetence of the captain of the ship the *Doggersbank*, he landed in Malacca instead of Batavia. His report on this is to be found in V.O.C. 4445, letter from Van Braam Houckgeest to Batavia, 9 Feb. 1790, and General Report, 30 Nov. 1790. Batavia’s reaction to this can be read in the letter to the China Committee of 23

- Sept. 1791, V.O.C. 4446. See also J. de Hullu, 'A. E. van Braam Houckgeest's Memorie over Malakka en den tinhandel aldaar (1790)', *Bijdragen T.L.V.*, 76 (1920), pp. 284–309.
- 138 V.O.C. 4435, letter from Canton to China Committee, 10 Dec. 1787. See also H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 22), Vol. II, pp. 119–21, 137, 141–4.
- 139 V.O.C. 4436, Journal, 20 Aug. 1787. That year the Chinese merchants were compelled to pay a contribution of 400,000 taels, while a sequestration was also laid on their stocks and ships. For this rebellion see J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa, Historical View from 1430 to 1900*, Taihoku 1903, pp. 79–80.
- 140 See, for example, the commentary on the trade of 1789, Arch. Canton 169, letters from China Committee to Canton, 8 and 26 Nov. 1790, with appendices. Particular concern was felt over the much too high sum that was taken in against bills of exchange (731, 337 Spanish rials) without this being reported in the correspondence. All the bills of exchange were recoverable at the same time and the Committee had to give out other bills on London in order to meet them, since it did not have enough ready money itself at the moment.
- 141 V.O.C. 4440, letter from Canton to China Committee, 18 Jan. 1789. The unusual step was taken of giving the Chinese merchants complete access to the books and informing them of the financial situation: V.O.C. 4438, Res. Canton, 14 Sept. 1788.
- 142 Ironically, one of the fastest English ships was the former *Vrouwe Catharina Wilhelmina*, a China ship captured from the Dutch in 1780 and later fitted with copper plates on her bottom and keel, so that she offered less resistance to the water. The supercargos begged for all the China ships to be 'copper-bottomed' and for a trial to be made of three-deckers with flush decks, which were far better able to withstand waves washing over the sides than the old-fashioned well-deckers. The incompetence and open drunkenness of captains and helmsmen also aroused great annoyance. In 1787 the *Admiraal de Suffren* was wrecked on the rocks off Lincoln Island, which were not marked at all on the Dutch navigation charts. See, for example: V.O.C. 4435, letter from supercargos to China Committee, 18 Jan. 1788, V.O.C. 4438, letter of supercargos to China Committee, 2 Dec. 1788 and V.O.C. 4442, report to China Committee, 26 Nov. 1789.
- 143 In 1793 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest was amazed at the English China ships with an iron frame construction. A 150-footer like that could take on board an amount of tea equal to that carried by 45 to 48 sampans, as against the 33 to 35 sampan loads of a Dutch East India Company 150-footer: V.O.C. 4577, Journal, 14 Sept. 1793.
- 144 As, for example, the director U. G. Hemmingson did in 1791. The *Heeren XVII* had forbidden this in 1775 for fear that important information might become known: V.O.C. 4446, Res. Canton, 7 Feb. 1791. Van Braam Houckgeest also wanted to go home on an English ship 'because of the experience I have of the disagreeable and lengthy voyages in our ships' and 'in order to be able to arrive in Europe in four months time in decent company': V.O.C. 4560, letter to China Committee, 26 Nov. 1792.
- 145 A good example of this is also given by M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, 'Johan Splinter Stavorinus', *Vier eeuwen varen*, Bussum, n.d. (1974), pp. 190–1.
- 146 In their resolution of 4 Dec. 1788, V.O.C. 198, the *Heeren XVII* approved the China Committee's proposal that the China ships should be given copper bottoms. In V.O.C. 4446, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 23 Sept. 1791, and letter from Canton to China Committee, 24 Nov. 1791, and Arch. Canton 174 Nos. 14, 17, 23 and 29, mention is made of the favourable results with threedeckers and the adaptation of the charts. Others had asked for the latter as well: J. M. C. Radermacher, 'Waarneemingen over het verbeteren onzer Hollandsche zeekaarten naar de Engelsche en Fransche', *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, II (1823), pp. 190–2. The chart that had been in use up to that point was by Jan de Marre, published in 1753 by Johan van Keulen. During his voyage to Canton Van Braam Houckgeest, an ex-naval officer, drew four new charts of 'the appearance of the Coast of China' and sent them to both the Netherlands and Batavia: V.O.C. 4445, letter from Canton to China Committee, 11 Dec. 1790. The negative judgement on them was passed by Cornelis Pieters, examiner of the helmsmen in Amsterdam: V.O.C. 4580.
- 147 Arch. Canton 169. letter from China Committee to Canton, 7 Nov. 1790. It appears that during its deliberations the China Committee even considered stopping the China trade altogether. For the regu-

- lations for freight goods see J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, XI, pp. 450–1.
- 148 *Memorieboek Pakhuismeesteren*, p. 51.
- 149 Voûte pamphlets and the reactions to them are discussed in *Memorieboek Pakhuismeesteren*, pp. 57–9. For the question of Voûte's resignation as adviser to the *Heeren XVII* in 1788 see the resolutions of the *Heeren XVII* of 15 May 1788, V.O.C. 197, and 25 April 1789, V.O.C. 199.
- 150 Proclamation of the States General, 14 July 1791. A printed copy is to be found in V.O.C. 4563.
- 151 Van der Oudermeulen wrote in 1785 that the China trade was 'of importance for the Company', demonstrating this by calculating the net gains over the years 1769–79 at over 15 million guilders: C. van der Oudermeulen, *op. cit.* (Note 127), pp. 282–3. Unfortunately he gives no figures for the last years, when the profits sharply declined. In general he says that the decline is to be attributed to the disproportionate rise in costs (*op. cit.*, p. 96).
- 152 V.O.C. 4594–4597, 'General Statements of the goods traded in', 1750–89. The returns on the China trade are still specified for 1757 and 1758 in V.O.C. 6989, 'Collocation of the Sales'.
- 153 V.O.C. 7006, 'Collocation of the Sales of the Amsterdam Chamber', 1781–95. This may be compared with V.O.C. 7205, 'General Statements of the Amsterdam Chamber', 1766–99, albeit these are not so detailed.
- 154 The total proceeds of the Dutch East India Company's sales are also given by G. C. Klerk-de Reus, 'Geschichtlicher Ueberblick der administrativen, rechtlichen und finanziellen Entwicklung der Niederländisch-Ostindischen Compagnie', *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, XLVII, Batavia/The Hague 1894, Appendix V. Klerk-de Reus probably used another source, for his figures run through to 1797. The figures he gives for some of the years are identical with those from the 'General Statements', but in many other years, and especially 1747, 1749, 1777 and 1785, there are differences of hundreds of thousands and sometimes millions of guilders.
- 155 In the case of the English East India Company a quarter of all the goods sold in London around 1750 were Chinese and in 1780 these even amounted to half the goods sold: H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion*, Vol. II, Minneapolis, 1976, pp. 127, 157. In that of the French an increasing share of goods from China is likewise recorded in the total sales: about a fifth around 1736, already a quarter by 1743 and over a third from 1750 to 1800: *idem.*, pp. 156, 210.
- 156 F. W. Stapel, *op. cit.* (Note 85), pp. 193–4.
- 157 For the period after 1795 see N. Egbers, *Vissen in troebel theewater*, M. A. thesis Univ. of Amsterdam, typescript, Amsterdam 1981; P. H. van der Kemp, 'De geboorte van ons consulaat te Canton', *De Economist*, 1918, pp. 827–46; H. P. N. Muller, 'Onze vaderen in China', *De Gids*, 1917, pp. 163–76 and 327–68; F. J. A. Broeze, 'De Nederlandsche geöctroyeerde Maatschappij voor de Chinasche theehandelen haar expeditie naar Canton met het fregatschip 'Hoop en Fortuin' (1816–1819)', *M.N.V.Z.*, XXXI (1975), pp. 3–33; *idem, op. cit.* (Note 121); *idem*, 'De Nederlandsche Handel-Maatschappij en haar vijf expedities naar Canton (1825–1830)', *M.N.V.Z.*, XXXVI (1978), pp. 40–66.

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## Notes to Chapter II

- 1 V.O.C. 988, Instructions from Batavia for the supercargos, 4 June 1735.
- 2 This difference is partly to be explained by the fact that the position of the Dutch in Japan was exceptional and that there they came into contact with the elite of the country, whereas in China they only had commercial relations. It is not unlikely that the chiefs for Japan were selected for certain qualities and experience, whereas different criteria were adopted for the factors for China.
- 3 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine dans les années 1794 et 1795...*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1797. In his 'Avertissement de l'éditeur' in this work (Vol. I. p. XIV), Moreau de S. Mery writes that for five years Van Braam Houckgeest had two Chinese draughtsmen in his service, who recorded all aspects of daily life for him. This collection is described in Vol. I, pp. XVII–XLIV, 'Notice des objets qui composent la collection de dessins Chinois de van Braam'. Most of his famous collection of Chinese art objects was sold at Christie's in London on 15 and 17 February 1799. See also H. W. Kent, 'Van Braam Houckgeest, an early American collector', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XL-2, Worcester 1930, 159–74.
- 4 Arch. Canton 289.
- 5 V.O.C. 2762, letter from the *Hoge Regering* to Canton, 12 Dec. 1750. The English supercargos were more interested in such matters, to judge from their answer to a similar request made by the Royal Society in 1764: H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1633–1834*, Oxford 1926–9, Vol. 5, pp. 117–8.
- 6 Among the 18th-century publications may be mentioned: J. B. Du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine*, etc., 4 vols., Paris 1735 (Eng. ed. London 1736, transl. R. Brookes); E. Y. Ides, *Driejaarige reizig naar China* etc., Amsterdam 1704; C. F. Noble, *Voyage to the East Indies in 1747 and 1748 ...with a particular description of Canton*, London 1762; P. Osbeck, *Dagbok öfwer en Ostindisk Resa ären 1750–1752* etc., Stockholm 1757 (Eng. ed. London 1771, German ed. Rostock 1765); P. Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine... 1774–1781*, Paris 1782. There also exist various descriptions of Lord Macartney's embassy to Peking in 1793 (see Note 92 below), in which Canton and the trade there are likewise discussed.
- 7 V.O.C. 4578, printed 'Order of Sailing from Batavia to the Netherlands via China', 15 July 1766, one of the earliest known orders of sailing for China. Under this number in the archives there are also one or two handwritten drafts for orders of sailing. The earliest of them dates from 1792, but it hardly differs from that of 1766, even though significant progress had been made in charting the seas in the intervening period and the English, for example, knew of faster routes. L. Dermigny (*La Chine et l'Occident. Le commerce à Canton au XVIIIe siècle, 1719–1833*, Paris 1964, Vol. I, pp. 257–63) gives French descriptions of routes from Batavia to China, which run outside the normal routes with the intention of evading enemy ships.

- 8 The Hong merchant responsible for the Dutch appointed one or more 'compradors', lesser Chinese traders who supplied the ships and the factory with provisions, materials, sampans and workpeople. They also guarded the factory after the departure of the ships. The Dutch had the same compradors for years, namely Amie, who had been to Batavia and could speak a little Dutch, Apo and Attacq, who by 1792 had been in service for over fifty years.
- 9 In October 1740 thousands of Chinese inhabitants of Batavia were massacred by the Dutch: J. F. Vermeulen, *De Chinezen te Batavia en de troebelen van 1740*, Leiden 1938. The fear that the Chinese would take revenge by prohibiting the trade in Canton in 1741 proved groundless. On the contrary, the supercargos wrote that 'the Emperor of China had heard of the revolt at Batavia and was said to have rejoiced that the Company had put an end to that scum – that they had been vagabonds – and that he himself did not recognize them as Chinese and had ordered that the Foeyuun should take care to see that everything regarding our trade should be maintained in order and according to the just requirements, as if the Company were his best friend with such splendid tidings': Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1876-A-XXII, Koloniale Aanwinsten 139, Report to Batavia 1741. Although this is put in somewhat exaggerated terms, the Emperor did in fact issue an edict to the effect that the trade with the Company and the junk traffic with Java need not be stopped because of this occurrence: Lo-shu Fu, *A documentary chronicle of Sino-Western relations (1644–1820)*, 2 vols., Tucson 1966, 172–4.
- 10 V.O.C. 2682. Trade Reports, 6 Jan. 1744 and 10 Feb. 1747.
- 11 In 1785 six Chinese seamen were engaged at a wage of eight rials a month. They sailed to the Netherlands and then back again to Canton, where in 1787 they asked to be allowed to remain in service and to make the voyage again, which they were, indeed, permitted to do: V.O.C. 4428, Resolution of 11 Jan. 1786, and V.O.C. 4436, Journal, 4 Nov. 1787. In 1792 34 Chinese seamen were engaged in Macao for the *Roozenburg*, and in 1794 as many as 50, but these absconded with their wages which had been paid in advance.
- 12 The Hoppo was a high Manchu official, generally a relation of someone at the Imperial court. He was charged with the collecting of import and export dues, the granting of the necessary 'sjaps' (licences) and the overall control of the overseas trade. He was mostly appointed for a term of three years.
- 13 Prince Hendrik Maritime Museum, Rotterdam, copy in manuscript of C. H. Gietermakers 't *Vergulde Licht der Zeevaart ofte Const der Stuerlieden*, with added notes at the back about the China trade, entitled 'Regarding that which the Supercargos must observe in connection with the ceremonies which must be honoured on arrival at, during the stay in and on the departure from Canton', with descriptions of various goods traded in. The manuscript breaks off abruptly and is unfinished, anonymous and undated, but can be dated after 1750.
- 14 Bohea tea was rammed down much harder than other sorts and a chest of it could contain 200 pounds, whereas the finest tea was trodden down very carefully and weighed no more than 50–60 pounds per chest.
- 15 This arrangement appears in various stowage reports, see for example Arch. Canton 118, Stowage lists for the ships *De Getrouwigheid* and *Slooten*; V.O.C. 4394, Memorandum of Loading Plan, 1763; V.O.C. 4399, General Report, 17 Dec. 1766, and V.O.C. 4401, Memorandum regarding the loading of the ships, 30 June 1767.
- 16 This correspondence has been preserved for the years 1775–9: Arch. Canton 145, 147, 150, 152, 154.
- 17 This ruling was revised by the China Committee's letter of 26 September 1769, which fixed the bounty at 1,000 guilders for every 13,000 pounds extra, while in 1779 15,000 pounds extra weight had to be loaded for the same bounty. In 1787 the bounty was done away with altogether, because more light-weight tea was shipped and less heavy Bohea tea. A fixed bounty of 3,000 guilders was awarded, if the supercargos were satisfied with how the loading had been done: Arch. Canton 162, letter from China Committee, 14 November 1786, and Arch. Canton 165, Extract from minutes of China Committee, 22 Aug. 88. It nowhere emerges that the directors saw any endangerment of a safe homeward voyage in this overloading.
- 18 A very extensive discussion of all the problems involved in this is to be found in Arch. Canton 225,



- General Report, 31 Dec. 1764. See also V.O.C. 4426, General Report, 31 Jan. 1785, and Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee, 17 Sept. 1785.
- 19 More particulars about the Dutch East India Company's ships are to be found in J. R. Bruijn and others, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th centuries*, 2 (3) vols., R.G.P. 166–7, The Hague 1979. Information is given here about the dates of arrival and departure in the Netherlands, the Cape and Batavia and the ships themselves (date of building, tonnage, captain, crew, etc.), but unfortunately nothing is said about the cargos or the use that the *Hoge Regering* made of the ships, so that it is impossible to follow any given ship in the inter-Asiatic trade.
  - 20 Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1912, XII, part 4. This part contains the remains of a collection of maps and plans relating to the Embassy to Peking, which were probably copied from Chinese originals.
  - 21 A number of such views appear in almost every book on the China trade of the European Companies, e.g. L. Dermigny, *op. cit.* (Note 7), which has a large number of illustrations in Vol. 4, and C. L. Crossman, *The China Trade. Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver and Other Objects*, Princeton 1972, where, in addition to the many illustrations in the text on pp. 259–65, an attempt is made to give the chronology of such views with the aid of ten examples. There is also a great deal of material in J. Orange, *The Chater Collection. Pictures relating to China, Hongkong, Macao 1655–1860*, London 1924.
  - 22 The source of this misunderstanding is A. M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, 'De Factorijen te Canton in de 18e eeuw', *Oud Holland*, 1955, p. 164.
  - 23 V.O.C. 4375 letter to the *Heeren XVII* 24 July 1731.
  - 24 An inventory of such objects, drawn up at the end of the trading season of 1730–1, is to be found in V.O.C. 4375. In it are mentioned: 1 pair of coin scales, 1 brass 'mark weight', 12 brass weights in a chest, 10 brass candlesticks, 5 candle-snuffers and their holders, 8 sets of bed-hangings, various lead weights, 12 writing-tables, 4 large tables, 7 beds, 5 saddles, 4 commodes, 37 small chairs with arms, 17 large chairs with arms, 16 lanterns, 3 iron pans, 1 roasting spit, 2 choppers, 2 iron cooking spoons, 4 large waterpots for fresh water, 4 water butts, 2 mortars and 1 stand for the coin scales.
  - 25 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, illustration facing p. 192.
  - 26 A. Setterwall, S. Fogelmarck and B. Gyllensvärd, *The Chinese Pavilion at Drottningholm*, Malmö 1974, p. 342.
  - 27 V.O.C. 2806, Trade Report, 12 Dec. 1750; V.O.C. 2762, Resolution, 14 Jan. 1751.
  - 28 Arch. Canton 215, General Report, 23 Feb. 1755.
  - 29 The wages are noted in the daybooks and the domestic account books of the factory. For the rebuilding of 1760 the daily wage for a Chinese carpenter was 1 mace (35 cents) and a bricklayer 8 candareen (28 cents): V.O.C. 4386, Daybook, 1760–1. In V.O.C. 4382, Domestic Account Book, 1758–9, 1 mace is also booked for a carpenter and ship-caulker and 8 candareens for a coolie, but 2 maces for a bricklayer. A coolie on the factory's permanent strength earned 8 taels a month at that time (around fl. 28.50), as did the Chinese cook, while the cook's mate got 4½ taels (around 16 guilders).  
It is interesting to compare these wages with those of thirty years earlier. For the trading season of 1733–4 separate daybooks for both the *Voorduijn* and the *Leijduin* are preserved in V.O.C. 4378. In one of them 8 taels are booked as the monthly pay for a coolie in permanent service, in the other 2 taels. The water carrier who worked for the supercargos of the *Voorduijn* got 12 taels a month, and the barber 8 taels, the cook and the washerman of the *Leijduin* 3 taels.  
In 1735 a Chinese carpenter received 1 tael a day (fl. 3.55), a master carpenter 2 taels, a caulker 8 maces (fl. 2.80): V.O.C. 2246, letter to Batavia, 18 March 1736. Fiddling of the expense accounts, either by the comparadors or by the supercargos, certainly cannot be ruled out, in view of the big differences, but despite this the domestic account books and the daybooks are of the greatest importance for the social history of China and especially of Canton. Comparisons between the large number of available statistics regarding the wages of Chinese workers over long periods can result in an average that comes close to reality. These figures must then be compared with the prices of the main foodstuffs, which can be discovered in the same way. As far as is known, there are no Chinese sources available for such information. The author is working on this study.
  - 30 Arch. Canton 25, Resolution, 17 Sept. 1762.

- 31 V.O.C. 4401, Report, 20 Nov. 1767.
- 32 V.O.C. 4402, General Report, 22 Dec. 1768.
- 33 V.O.C. 4409, Resolution, 7 March 1772; General Report, 28 Nov. 1772.
- 34 V.O.C. 4409, Resolution, 18 March 1772, Appendix H, 'Plan and Project for the rebuilding of the back portion of the Factory'. This contains a description and explanation of the design sketch to be found in Arch. Canton 35.
- 35 V.O.C. 4412, General Report, 25 Dec. 1774, in which the supercargos protested against this decision. The total costs amounted to 5,106 taels, over 18,300 guilders. Not until 1776 did the *Heeren XVII* give their approval for the rebuilding.
- 36 V.O.C. 4384, Memorandum to the Commander of the Factory, 5 Aug. 1760, and Memorandum to the Steward, 6 Aug. 1760.
- 37 The domestic account-books give very detailed information about the prices of the provisions that were bought and it would be possible on this basis to draw up a survey of the prices of basic foodstuffs in Canton over a long period of successive years (see also note 29). As examples may be quoted some average prices from V.O.C. 4382, Domestic Account Book, 1758: a loaf 7 cents, a pound of flour 6 cents, a pound of rice 7 cents, an egg 1 cent, a chicken 27 cents, a pound of pork 20 cents, a pound of ordinary fish 9 cents, a litre of milk 14 cents, 20 litres of drinking water 1 cent, a pound of salt 6 cents, 10 kilos of charcoal 19 cents.
- 38 V.O.C. 4411, letter to China Committee, 28 Oct. 1774, from which it emerges that on the orders of the directors no more soldiers were to be taken along from Batavia, on account of the great expense.
- 39 V.O.C. 4442, 'Rules and Regulations for the Servants of the Trade', n.d., included under the Judicial Papers of 1789–90.
- 40 V.O.C. 4403, Papers concerning the estate of F. H. van Eijmbeek. In addition to the inventory of the goods of Van Eijmbeek, the sale lists of the possessions of other deceased members of staff are also to be found here. The wearing apparel of the seaman Pieter Gijsman of Leiden fetched fl. 10.30, the possessions of the boatswain's mate Roelof Jacobs of Copenhagen fl. 117.80. The usher Hermanus Freriks possessed a reasonable wardrobe plus the following: 1 silver buckle, 1 silver knee-buckle, 1 silver neck clasp, 1 pewter slop basin, 1 pewter teapot, 1 pewter shaving bowl, 1 porcelain teapot with 11 teacups and saucers and 8 slop basins, 4 wineglasses, 2 memorandum books, 1 copper kettle, 1 keg with some coffee beans, 178 bottles of arrack and 1 'cellaret with a little arrack'. These good fetched 128 guilders. In addition there was a salary account of 123 guilders and 44 ducatoons (120 guilders).
- 41 Arch. Canton 118, Notice concerning the number of slaves that may be brought, 5 Feb. 1755. The slave boy Fortuijn left by the usher J. G. Bode was sold in 1787 for 202 guilders: V.O.C. 4435, Papers concerning the estate of J. G. Bode.
- 42 See, for example, V.O.C. 4433, Resolution, 23 Dec. 1786, in which the assistant J. Nebbens, who was about to go home, is given permission to let his Chinese servant Tan Assie enter the Company's service at a wage of nine guilders a month.
- 43 In the Incoming Letters from China lists of the medicaments taken along are often to be found among the receipts for the ships' supplies provided. See, for example, V.O.C. 4416 (1777), 4417 (1778) and 4434 (1786). In Arch. Canton 174 there is a summary of the contents of the dispensary on the *Schelde* (1793).
- 44 The announcement of his death, addressed to his cousin Carel de Rooij and wife in Amsterdam is preserved in V.O.C. 4472. His widow, Catharina Magdalena La Fon, his four-year-old daughter, his mother-in-law Catharina Louisa le Fabre, Widow Leertouwer, and the slaves asked for and were granted passages on one of the Company's ships from Macao to the Cape.
- 45 In 1787 the funeral expenses were specified as follows: coffin with carving 68 guilders; grave on Frenchmen's Island 85 guilders; gravestone and cost of carving 128 guilders; four coolies fl. 5.30 and gratuities for the poor fl. 2.60. The guardian received 5% of the capital for settling the estate: V.O.C. 4435, Papers concerning the estate of usher J. G. Bode.
- 46 See, for example, H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V, pp. 89–90 and Appendix AK, p. 94–8. A French

- translation of the Chinese edict is to be found in V.O.C. 4389, 'Memoire sur les précautions à prendre à l'égard des étrangers...' etc. (1760). Earlier regulations are cited by H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, pp. 103–4) as part of the rules concerning the establishment of the Co Hong in 1720. See also V.O.C. 2467, Journal 1739, for staying behind in the off-season, the recreation of ships' crews on Frenchman's Island, the free passage of the sloop with the flag, etc.
- 47 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *op. cit.* (Note 3), vol. II, pp. 324–5.
- 48 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *op. cit.* (Note 3), vol. II, p. VIII; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), p. 189. The Chinese government's official ban dates from 1760 (see Note 46) and was strictly enforced.
- 49 V.O.C. 4446, letter to China Committee, 15 Dec. 1791.
- 50 Nederburgh Coll. No. 454, letter from Titsingh, Canton 20 Dec. 1795. The Portuguese complained to the States General about this affair via the Court in Lisbon, but were told that Van Braam had already been recalled: *ibid.*
- 51 A short description of prostitution in Canton is given by Moreau de S. Mery in his 'Notes et explications' to Van Braam Houckgeest's account of the embassy, *op. cit.* (Note 3), Vol. I, p. LXXII. For this see also Vol. II of the same publication, p. X, where there is a reference to the prevalence of venereal diseases in Canton, and C. Hibbert, *The dragon wakes*, London 1970, pp. 72–83.
- 52 V.O.C. 4447, Journal, 29 Dec. 1791. In Japan, by contrast, the authorities did permit sexual intercourse between the Dutch and Japanese women.
- 53 See for example: A. Ljungstedt, *An historical sketch of the Portuguese settlements in China... etc., with a description of the city of Canton*, Boston 1836; W. C. Hunter, *The Fan Kwae in Canton before treaty days*, London 1882; H. Cordier 'Les marchands hanistes de Canton', in *T'oung Pao*, Series II, Vol. III, Leiden 1902, pp. 281–315; H. B. Morse, *The gilds of China. With an account of the gild merchant or Co Hong of Canton*, London 1909; L. Dermigny, *op. cit.* (Note 7), Vol. I, pp. 231–55; I. C. Y. Hsü, *The rise of modern China*, New York, etc. 1970, pp. 185–90.
- 54 Much of the following information has been taken from Liang Chia-pin, *Kuangtung Shihsan Hang Kao* (The thirteen Hongs of Canton), Shanghai 1937, with a short English summary. A Japanese translation was published in Tokyo in 1943. I would like to thank Professor O. Oba of the Institute of Oriental and Occidental Studies of the Kansai University at Osaka for sending me a photocopy of the Japanese edition, and Takeshi Ito, who translated important parts of it for me.
- 55 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, pp. 88–9 and 99–102.
- 56 *Ibid.*, pp. 138–41.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 161–7.
- 58 V.O.C. 2410, Report to Batavia, 14 Feb. 1737. This attempt was probably connected with an edict promulgated by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in the first year of his reign: H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, pp. 249–52; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), p. 169. For more detail about this see V.O.C. 4379, especially the trade report of 31 December 1736, the French translation of the Imperial edict of 3 December 1736 and the translations of the petition sent to the Emperor by the European supercargos. In his edict the Emperor abolished the additional tax of 10% on the imported goods at the request of the Europeans, because, to quote the French translation, 'c'est contraire à l'intention que j'ai de favoriser les étrangers'. However, it was at the same time recommended that there should be some regulation of the foreign trade and this the Hong merchants followed up. The following Hong merchants are mentioned by the supercargos in their report (the names in brackets are the English ones as given by H. B. Morse): Tsja Honqua, Young Kiqua, Tucksia, Texia & Simon, Mandarin Quiqua, Amoy Jos (Teyqua Amoy), Leunqua (Leonqua), Felix, Teunqua (Tonqua) & Gowqua, Old Quiqua nicknamed Beau Quiqua, Young Tinquua, Tan Tinquua, also known as Old Tinquua, Sinqua (Chinqua), Toqua (Tiuqua), Emanuel (Maneil), Rowqua, Labin (Robin), Tijqua (Tequa), Suqua (Souqua) and Soiqua, nicknamed Pinkje or Pinky. In addition to these Hong merchants, the following independent, smaller merchants are named: Seyqua, Jonqua, Tan Chinewaar, Onqua and Augustin. In 1741 Souqua, Texia, Tinquua and Leonqua are mentioned as the most important Hong merchants.

- 59 This name was also sometimes written *Tsontok* or *Sjontock*. The military commander of Canton and the *Fnyuen* or *Foejoen*, the governor of Kuangtung who was based at Canton, came under the authority of the *Tsjontok*.
- 60 Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V, pp. 29–30 and Appendix AI, pp. 36–44. See also Arch. Canton 318, report to Amsterdam, 31 Dec. 1775, and Arch. Canton 20, Resolution Book, translations of 3 Chinese edicts, 17 and 18 May 1755. The six favoured Hong merchants mentioned were Beau Quiqua, Tsja Honqua, Poankeequa, Swetsia (son of Texia, who had died), Tan Chetqua (son of Souqua, who had died in 1760) and Tsja Suequa, nicknamed Lofty Suiqua.
- 61 The Hoppo protested against this in person at the Court in Peking as early as 1756, with the support of the Hong merchants. He pointed out that this was a method of evading the Imperial tolls and taxes. But in Peking the matter was not considered important enough: ‘... the detrimental difference for His Imperial Majesty is much too small for the same to regard it as worthy of his attention’: Arch. Canton 218, report to Batavia from the supercargos who had remained behind, 30 June 1756.
- 62 Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V, pp. 75–84. See also Arch. Canton 121, General Report, 31 Jan. 1760, fol. 139. Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 215–28, gives the Chinese sources for this episode. Also interesting is the detailed report on the question written later by Van Braam Houckgeest, who was supercargo at this period, in the Journal for 23 February 1792, V.O.C. 4447.
- 63 Liang Chia-pin, *op. cit.* (Note 54), p. 335. The report went into the situation in Xian in detail in seven articles. In the same year Xin Zhu presented another report in which he made recommendations regarding the gifts and the taxes on the exportation of foodstuffs.
- 64 I. C. Y. Hsü, *op. cit.* (Note 53), p. 186.
- 65 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V, pp. 89–98; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 224–26; V.O.C. 4384, General Report, 11 Jan. 1761, and ‘Mercantile Enclosures’, comprising copies in Chinese of the original edicts, translations of the Chinese documents and translations of the protests of the European supercargos; Arch. Canton 222, Reports to Batavia, 31 Dec. 1760 and 6 Feb. 1761. According to the Journal of 12 Sept. 1760, V.O.C. 4386, the Co Hong’s building was formally opened on that day. The Hong merchants were divided into three classes: those for goods from Europe and America, those for goods from the Pacific and South-east Asia and those for goods from the coastal areas of China. The eleven members who dealt with the Europeans were (with the English names as given by Morse in brackets): Poankeequa (Poankiqua), Tsja Honqua, Lofty Suiqua (Tsja Suiqua, Yongtiye), Teunqua (The Onqua), Tan Tinqu (Jinqu), Semqua (Wonsamye), Tan Chetqua, Swietia (Sweetia), Giqua Conscientia (Geequa), Foetia (Fotia) and Tan Tsjouqua (Chowqua).
- 66 It had become the custom for the English sea-captains in particular to bring such things, which were much sought after by the mandarins, privately. The prices were fabulous: in 1776 the Hoppo demanded as a gift from the Hong merchant Monqua, ‘an exceedingly fine mechanical timepiece’, which cost 70,000 taels (over 240,000 guilders). In 1779 a ‘watch with jewels and striking mechanism’ cost 17,000 taels. For buying and repairing timepieces the mandarins made use of such people as the Englishman Thomas Dickinson, ‘an artist in the making of timepieces and other fine things of that sort’, who is mentioned in 1790 as the only European who had the right to live in Canton all year round. In 1797 Beale and Felix are mentioned as dealers in timepieces, while the ‘mechanic’ and clockmaker Petit Pierre went to Peking to foster goodwill with the embassies of both Macartney and Titsingh. For these and other clockmakers in Canton see A. Chapuis, *La montre Chinoise. Relations de l’horlogerie Suisse avec la Chine*, Neuchâtel (1918).
- 67 V.O.C. 4577, Journal 15 Oct. 1794. To give one more of the numerous examples: in 1779 the Hoppo moneys were increased incidentally by 50%, so that the gifts for the Hoppo, the Governor of Canton and the Emperor could be paid for out of them. The proceeds were estimated at 30,000 taels: V.O.C. 4419, Journal, 13 March 1779.
- 68 Many of them entered into co-operative alliances with two or more other Hong merchants. They laid out their profits in immovables and landed property, the possession of which was, indeed, one of the preconditions of being able to become a Hong merchant: V.O.C. 4426, Resolution, 19 Nov. 1784, para-

- graph 11. If the debts were not too large, this property was left intact and the claim went not to the Hong merchant himself, but to the Hong, the firm. In the case of bankruptcy, however, the opposite was the case: V.O.C. 4413, General Report, 31 Dec. 1775. Large sums were often borrowed from the Europeans, although that was forbidden by the government. At the end of the 1770's the debts of the Hong merchants in respect of the English East India Company and above all of private merchants in India had escalated to over 8½ million dollars (around 23 million guilders). When these debts were claimed in 1779/80 – at which time an English warship was sent to lend force to the demands – many Hong merchants went bankrupt: Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5) Vol. II, pp. 39–60; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 276–81. The Dutch East India Company was not nearly so heavily involved in this.
- 69 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, p. 301 and Vol. V, p. 153. See also V.O.C. 4407, General Report, 23 Dec. 1771.
- 70 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, pp. 13–16, 24, 33 and 58. See also the General Reports in V.O.C. 4414 (12 Jan. 1777), 4415 (31 Jan. 1778), 4417 (24 Jan. 1779) and 4421 (8 Jan. 1781).
- 71 V.O.C. 4446 Journal, 23 Dec. 1791.
- 72 V.O.C. 4397, General Report, 4 January 1766
- 73 Hope Coll. No. 8471
- 74 This tax, which replaced the earlier taxes of 4 and 6%, was introduced in 1727, see Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, pp. 188–95. It was abolished in 1736; see Note 58 above.
- 75 Tan Honqua's letters to the *Heeren XVII*, dated 29 December 1730 and 20 January 1731, written in his own hand in Dutch and stamped with his seal, are to be found in V.O.C. 4376, *Coxhorn Papers*. Evidently it was only possible to send them a year after the question arose. See also J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', pp. 101–3. H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. I, pp. 202–3) discusses his relationship with the English East India Company.
- 76 V.O.C. 352, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to Tan Honqua, 1730. They did, however, send two mirrors worth 186 guilders as presents for Tan Honqua.
- 77 Tsja Honqua and the Yi-Feng Hong are mentioned in Xin Zhu's report: see Note 63 above.
- 78 V.O.C. 4571, 'Candid and Impartial Consideration of the China Trade in General and the Direction of the same at the Dutch Factory at Canton in Particular', by A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, Canton 1769.
- 79 Arch. Canton 319, copy appended to report to Batavia, 7 Jan. 1757. Now and again the Dutch supercargos also expressed different opinions about him. The Amsterdam supercargos wrote a year later, 'Tshaa Honqua and his partners are not the persons with whom the trade must be conducted in the first years, since, drunk on the delusions soaked up from the previous directors, they consider themselves above serving the worshipful Company alongside the other candidates', V.O.C. 4381, General Report, 19 Jan. 1758. But even in 1758 nearly all the trade was being done with him and his partners again, 'being the foremost Merchants in Canton'.
- 80 V.O.C. 4417, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779. He is mentioned in Xin Zhu's report under his Chinese name Pan Wen Yan and his firm was called the Tong Foo Hong (see note 63 above). He was succeeded by his son, who was also called Poankeequa and who became head of the Co Hong in 1796.
- 81 Inksja (Yungshaw) is likewise mentioned in Xin Zhu's report (see Note 63 above). His Chinese name was Yan Shi Ying and the name of his firm the Tai Huo (Tijwo) Hong. In the second half of the 18th century he developed into an important Hong merchant, being, for example, the owner of the Dutch factory. Along with many others, he also went bankrupt in 1780, his tax arrears being assessed at 140,000 taels and his debts to English private traders at nearly a million taels. He was exiled to Tartary to cut grass for the Emperor's horses, 'the usual punishment for exiles', V.O.C. 4421, Resolution, 18 Sept. 1780.
- 82 V.O.C. 4409, report to Batavia, 25 Dec. 1774, fol. 48.
- 83 His Hong was called the 'Quon-chong Hong'. He died in 1775 and was succeeded by his brother Kooqua, with whom the Dutch regularly did business. Both Tinqu and Kooqua, like Chetqua who died in 1771, were sons of 'old Tsjouqua' or Souqua, who was already a prominent Hong merchant in 1736. Kooqua got into financial difficulties in 1778, among

- other things because his shareholders (sons of other Hong merchants mentioned by name in the documents) took him into custody. His debts, around 30,000 taels, were taken over by other Hong merchants. See detailed information in V.O.C. 4407, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779, and V.O.C. 4418, appendices to the Resolution.
- 84 Monqua (Munqua) is mentioned in Xin Zhu's report (see note 63 above) under his Chinese name Cai Shi Wén. The name of his firm was the Féng Yuán Hong, later called the Wán Huo Hong. Tan Tsjoqua (Chowqua) was considered very reliable by the Dutch supercargos. The name of his firm was the 'Juun Suun Hong'. He died at the age of 83 in 1788 and was succeeded by his son Locqua, who was no longer able to meet his contracts in 1792. The latter is also known by the name Tjsoqua (Chowqua).
- 85 This younger son (?) of Tsja Honqua is mentioned in Xin Zhu's report (see note 63 above) in connection with the Yi-Feng Hong under his Chinese name Cai Thao Fù. There is an interesting mention by Liang Chia-pin (*op. cit.* (Note 54), p. 336), of an epitaph dated 1811, in which he is mentioned. After his bankruptcy in 1784 and the closure of the I-phong Hong, he fled to his father-in-law, an influential mandarin in the province.
- 86 For the settling of Pinqua's debts see V.O.C. 4446, Journal, 26 Aug. and 5 Oct. 1791. The Dutch factory was also sold at that time, passing into the hands of Locqua. In 1792 the newly appointed Hoppo tried to force the Dutch to accept the bankrupt Pinqua as guarantor for the ship *Suijderburgh*, which arrived somewhat late. This was resolutely refused, but the Hoppo would not admit defeat until March 1793, so that the ship had to remain behind for a season: V.O.C. 4447, Report to Batavia, 28 Nov. 1792, and V.O.C. 4560, letter to China Committee, 28 March 1793.
- 87 In 1791 only five Hong merchants remained, namely Monqua, Poankeequa II, Kiouqa, Tzykinqua (Shy Kingqua) and Tsjoqua (alias Locqua). The following year the Hoppo appointed six new Hong merchants: Ponqua (chief clerk of Locqua's firm), Tackqua, Yanqua (from Poankeequa's firm), Mowqua (from Monqua's firm), Chitai and Poeyqua (Puiqua, a cousin of Kiouqua). The Europeans refused to accept Tackqua and Chitai as guarantors, as they were not linked with one of the large firms, so in 1793 there were only nine Hong merchants. See V.O.C. 4447, Journal, 21 March, 15 July, 4 and 26 Sept. 1792, and Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, p. 197.
- 88 This audience served to safeguard the financial interests of the Dutch East India Company, when Captain Panton demanded the settlement of the Hong merchants' debts to English private traders. A very detailed and amusing account of the audience is to be found in V.O.C. 4409, Journal, 24 Oct. 1779.
- 89 H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V, pp. 27–8.
- 90 Arch. Canton 219, General Report to Batavia, 15 March 1757; Arch. Canton, Report to M. Graae, 23 Sept. 1758. There were evidently no teachers to be found among the members of the Chinese community in Batavia. No academic research in Chinese was done in the Netherlands in the 18th century in contrast to the 17th: J. J. L. Duyvendak, *Holland's contribution to Chinese studies*, London 1950.
- 91 V.O.C. 4386, Journal, 18 Sept. 1760. The translations of Chinese documents of this period concerning the Co Hong in the Dutch East India Company records are indeed in French.
- 92 Detailed information about the English embassy is to be found in H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, pp. 213–56. A comprehensive account of it was published by G. Staunton: *An historical account of the Embassy to the Emperor of China... etc.*, London 1797. Others too profited from the European public's interest in China by publishing reports, e.g. A. Anderson, *A narrative of the British embassy to China... etc.*, London 1795, and W. Wintherbotham, *An historical view of the Chinese Empire... to which is added a copious account of Lord Macartney's Embassy... etc.*, London 1795. Chinese sources are given by Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 323, 325–27. Macartney did, indeed, also further the interests of the Dutch East India Company on an official basis during this mission: V.O.C. 204, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 14 Nov. 1792. The supercargo's comments on the embassy are to be found in V.O.C. 4560, letter to Batavia, 29 Nov. 1793, and letter to China Committee, 27 Dec. 1793. As a supplement to the second letter is enclosed a translation of a personal letter from the Jesuit Fr. Grammont in Peking to Van Braam Houckgeest. This was received in Canton on 20 December 1793 and contained detailed information about the English embassy.

- 93 The Commission's task was to prepare for a reorganisation in the East Indies: F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indie*, Amsterdam 1930, pp. 190–1.
- 94 Isaac Titsingh (1745–1812) was 'Chief' in Japan in the years 1779–8, 1781–3 and 1784. He twice made a visit to the Court in Edo during that period. From 1785 to 1792 he was director of the Dutch East India Company's factory at Chinsura in Bengal: C. R. Boxer 'The mandarin at Chinsura, Isaac Titsingh in Bengal', *Mededelingen Koninklijke Vereeniging Indisch Instituut, afd. Volkenkunde*, LXXXIV (1949), no. 32, pp. 1–28. A detailed biography of Titsingh is being prepared by F. Lequin at Leiden.
- 95 J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'The last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court (1794–1759)', *T'oung Pao*, XXXIV (1938), pp. 1–137, 'The last Dutch embassy in the 'veritable records', *idem*, pp. 223–27 and 'Supplementary documents on the last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court', *idem*, XXXV (1940), pp. 329–53. Chinese documents are also quoted by Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 332–35. See also C. R. Boxer, 'Isaac Titsingh's embassy to the court of Ch'ien Lung (1794–1795)', *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Shanghai, January 1939, 9–33.
- Manuscript accounts of the journey by both Titsingh and Van Braam are preserved in the National Archives. Titsingh's report is in the Archives of the East Indies possessions and the Cape, East Indies Committee, No. 238, and contains many supplements. It is not mentioned by Duyvendak, but is identical with the second copy, which he used, in the University Library, Leiden, BPL 2177. There is a French translation in manuscript in the British museum, Add. 18102.
- Van Braam Hockgeest's report is in Acquisitions of 1st. Dept., 1912, XXII, 1–4. It consists of a three-volume account of the journey, with a fourth volume consisting of an album of copies of Chinese maps and plans of Peking, Macao and Canton, which, alas, is no longer complete. There is a second copy (without the album) in the Sinological Institute at Leiden.
- After the embassy was over, Van Braam left the Company's service and went to the United States, where he published his report: *Voyage de l'Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine dans les années 1794 et 1795, etc.*, 2 vols. Philadelphia 1797. In 1798 a pirated edition appeared in Paris, edited by L. E. Moreau de S. Mery, who, however, only dealt with the first volume. The English and German translations of 1798 are based on this edition, as is the Dutch, which is entitled: *Reize van het Gezantschap der Hollandsche Oost Indische Compagnie naar den Keizer van China in 1794 en 1795*, Haarlem 1808. These translations contain none of the appendices, such as the survey of the life of the Dutch in Canton and Macao during the China trade.
- 96 For the composition and tasks of both the Trade and the Broad Council see, for example, V.O.C. 4557, 'General Instructions for the Director, Ships' Captains, Supercargos, Chief Mates and other Ships' Officers' and the 'Special Instructions for the Director and Supercargos', December 1756.
- 97 V.O.C. 4446, report to Batavia, 19 Dec. 1791.
- 98 For the order placed in 1757, which was not met until 1764, see Arch. Canton 122, Instructions for the supercargos', 13 Sept. 1763; for that of 1779, V.O.C. 4419, letter to Amsterdam, 21 Dec. 1779.
- 99 N. W. Posthumus, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van de Leidsche textielnijverheid*, Vol. 6, R. G. P. 49, The Hague 1922, pp. 781–2 (No. 470) and pp. 49–51 (No. 26).
- 100 Arch. Canton 164, letter from China Committee, 17 Oct. 1787.
- 101 V.O.C. 4396, General Report, 4 Jan. 1765. The tin was bought in Canton by 'Nanking and country traders', often with the money they had acquired from the sale of tea. The staple for tin, pepper and other goods imported by the Europeans was the city of 'Soutjou', present-day Soochow: V.O.C. 4432, Journal, 8 Sept. 1786.
- An idea of the amounts and sums involved in the tin trade can be given with the aid of a few examples. In 1736 124,571 pounds at a purchase price of 34,053 guilders was sold to the Hong merchants for 63,557 guilders, a gross profit of 86.6%. In 1754 1,689,877 pounds, purchase price 582,843 guilders, was sold for 837,048 guilders, gross profit 48.7%. In 1772 the figures are 2,150,022 pounds, purchase price 525,708 guilders, sale price 705,013 guilders, gross profit 34.1% and in 1789 1,835,493 pounds, purchase price 458,690 guilders, sale price 818,338 guilders, gross profit 78.4%.
- 102 V.O.C. 4396, report to China Committee, 25 Dec. 1764, fols. 49–50; J. de Hullu, 'Chinahandel', p. 38.

- 103 A few examples to give an idea of the extent of the pepper trade: in 1736, 375,000 pounds valued at 50,490 guilders was carried from Batavia and realized 150,765 guilders, a gross profit of 198.8%; in 1754 2,147,479 pounds, valued at 301,000 guilders, sold for 736,257 guilders, gross profit 144.7%; in 1772, 1,100,000 pounds, valued at 133,812 guilders, sold for 444,103 guilders, gross profit 232%; in 1789 1,200,000 pounds, valued at 155,614 guilders, sold for 474,163 guilders, gross profit 204.9%. See for the pepper trade of the Dutch East India Company in the period 1620–1730 K. Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620–1740*, Copenhagen/The Hague 1958, reprint The Hague 1980, pp. 73–90, 294–300. For a general survey of the Asian pepper trade see J. Bastin, *The changing balance of the early Southeast Asian pepper trade*, Kuala Lumpur 1960.
- 104 H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600–1800, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion*, Vol. II, Minneapolis 1976, pp. 244, 257–9, 279 and 292. Mention is also made here of the role of Dutch private individuals in the opium trade. In 1792 the supercargos wrote that around 1,500 chests of it were imported into Macao: V.O.C. 4446, Journal, 8 July 1792. For the English opium trade see also H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, pp. 140–1, 325–7, and J. B. Eames, *The English in China*, London/New York, reprint 1974, pp. 232–7.
- 105 The opium trade in the East Indies was in the hands of the monopolistic Opium Society. The ban on carrying opium to Canton was instituted by the *Hoge Regering* on 19 July 1750: J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. V, pp. 708–9. There is nothing to be found in the records about any smuggling to China by private individuals.
- 106 Each year the translators received an extract from the Hoppo's books, in which, among other things, was indicated, per Company and also as regards the other countries of Asia, what goods had been imported and exported and in what quantity. The supercargos included these figures in their reports from time to time, under the heading, 'Regarding the imports of the foreign ships'. See, for example, Arch. Canton 127, report to Batavia, 4 Jan. 1765, or V.O.C. 4425, report to Batavia, 14 Jan. 1784. It would be possible on the basis of such documents to obtain an overall impression of the total extent of the trade in Canton.
- 107 K. Glamann, (*op. cit.* (Note 103), pp. 212–43), only discusses the Dutch East India Company's tea trade during the period 1717–34, when the Company had just begun to appreciate the full significance of tea as an article of trade and means of competition. He makes a comparison with the tea trade of other Companies and demonstrates how important tea became to the Dutch Company over a short period, but the statistical material he adduces here is merely illustrative of his argument and far from complete. In view of the importance of tea for the China trade and the position of the Dutch East India Company in the 18th century, a separate study of the tea trade would be most useful.
- 108 There exists an extensive literature on the subject of tea and its place in social history. See, for example, F. Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Dordrecht/Amsterdam 1724–6, Vol. IV, Book 2, pp. 13–8; W. H. Ukers, *All about tea*, New York 1935, 2 vols. and the literature mentioned in Chapter I, Note 23. See also the 17th-century descriptions in O. Dapper (pp. 226–7), J. Nieuhoff (pp. 122–4) and A. Kircher (pp. 217–9), see bibliography.
- 109 Arch. Canton 124, Instructions for the supercargos, 13 Nov. 1761.
- 110 V.O.C. 4446, General Report, 19 Dec. 1791. The two 'presentation chests of tea', sent annually from Canton to William V and the Duke of Brunswick from 1765 onwards, were always lacquered.
- 111 V.O.C. 4402, Journal, 31 March 1709. Even if it did not become apparent until the tea reached the Netherlands that it must already have deteriorated by the time it was loaded in Canton, the chests could still be returned to the Hong merchants.
- 112 Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee, 17 Sept. 1785, in which it is said that the consumption of Bohea tea was rapidly declining in favour of Congou and Pekoe, for which the 'common man' too was willing to pay the higher price.
- 113 Derived from the shipping invoices and/or the day-books of the years in question.
- 114 For the purchase figures see Appendix 8. The proceeds on the sales were derived from V.O.C. 4592–4597, 'General Statements', 1730–89, supplemented by the 'lists of returns' for the years 1765, 1776, 1785 and 1792.



- 115 A great deal of research into the source material still needs to be done in this respect. The figures given by H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5)) are not sufficiently specific to afford a reliable picture of the English East India Company's total purchases of tea and he does not mention the proceeds of the sales at all. L. Dermigny (*op. cit.* (Note 7)) largely borrows his statistical material about the English Company from Morse, while he has no knowledge at all of that of the Dutch East India Company. In addition, he is far from complete, which means that his statistical surveys and the conclusions he draws from them should be regarded with a very critical eye. K. N. Chaudhuri, (*The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660–1760*, Cambridge 1968, pp. 385–406) gives a survey of the English tea trade. However, on p. 386 he rightly states: 'No other article imported by the Company is as obscure as that of tea. The nature of demand, the wholesale distribution, the methods of retailing and the financing of the tea merchants, over all these topics hangs a big question mark'.
- 116 K. Glamann, *op. cit.* (Note 103), pp. 129–31. Glamann does not deal with the trade in raw silk after 1735. It was probably because of difficulties over obtaining Bengal silk that the directors began to acquire part of their requirements in China, for after 1738 the prices of many export goods in Bengal, including silk, rose by over 30% as a result of increasing labour costs occasioned by the unrest attendant on the incursions of the Marathas: P. J. Marshall, *East India Fortunes, The British in Bengal in the 18th Century*, Oxford 1976, pp. 35 and 48. Another reason is perhaps to be found in the fact that in his 'Considerations' Governor General van Imhoff had suggested that the trade should not be focused so strongly on the Western Quarters, where the prices were high: J. E. Heeres, 'De consideratiën van Van Imhoff', *Bijdragen T.L.V.*, 66 (1912), pp. 496–7.
- 117 H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, p. 35) gives a figure of 50,000 pounds for the Dutch East India Company here but this is wrong.
- 118 Some examples may be given to illustrate the prices and quantities involved in the raw silk trade. In 1748 the supercargos bought 19,957 pounds of Nanking silk at fl. 6.46 a pound. This consignment fetched 215,334 guilders in Amsterdam, a gross profit of 86,300 guilders (67%). In 1765 13,622 pounds of Nanking silk at fl. 5.81 a pound fetched 117,787 guilders, a gross profit of 38,647 guilders (49%). In 1785 25,017 pounds of Nanking silk at fl. 2.30 a pound were bought, along with 9,811 pounds of Canton silk at fl. 2.08 a pound. These consignments together were sold for 334,202 guilders, a gross profit of 53,262 guilders (19%). The figures are taken from the shipping invoices (see Appendix 8) and V.O.C. 4591, 'General Statements'.
- 119 Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 226, 231, 235–7.
- 120 H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, pp. 193, 203–4) gives 60,000 pieces as the English purchase of nankeen in 1792, 228,000 as the French, 35,000 as the Swedish, 43,000 as the Danish, 27,400 as the American and, wrongly, 47,000 as the Dutch (the correct figure is 42,368).
- 121 Arch. Canton 173, letter to China Committee, 18 July 1793.
- 122 Some examples of quantities and prices: in 1755 6,120 pieces were bought for 10,344 guilders and fetched 15,217 guilders, a gross profit of 47%; in 1769 the Zeeland Chamber received 9,000 pieces, bought for 10,138 guilders, which fetched 18,857 guilders, a gross profit of 86%; in 1792 42,368 pieces were bought for 72,640 guilders and sold for 71,666 guilders, *i.e.* at a loss.
- 123 K. Glamann (*op. cit.* (Note 103), p. 149) has it that the directors did not ask for any more Chinese silk textiles after 1727, because of the poor proceeds from the sales in the 1720's. However, during the first voyage of the *Coxhorn* in 1729 570 pieces were already bought for 11,921 guilders and these fetched 22,448 guilders on their sale in Amsterdam, a gross profit of 88.3%. From that time onwards Chinese silks, which were of better quality than those of Bengal and also more fashionable, were regularly bought in. In the second half of the 18th century they constituted on average over half of all the Asian silk textiles put up for sale in Amsterdam by the Dutch East India Company: V.O.C. 4592–4597. See also Note 116.
- 124 The samples – sometimes even complete books of them – are always enclosed as an appendix to the 'Requirements' or Instructions. Extensive ranges of samples are to be found in V.O.C. 53 with the 'Requirements' of 1754; Arch. Canton 151, 'Requirements' of 1778; Arch. Canton 167, 'Requirements' of

- 1789; Arch. Canton 175, 'Requirements' of 1795 and V.O.C. 4552 and 4553, minutes of China Committee 1779–93. The author is working on an article about these samples.
- 125 H. B. Morse (*op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. V. p. 20) gives a closer definition of several kinds, plus the most common dimensions and the prices in 1754. The 'poisees', which he does not identify, were damasks, called 'poises damasten' by the Dutch supercargos.
- 126 V.O.C. 4399, Journal, 23 Oct. and 18 Nov. 1766.
- 127 V.O.C. 4560, General Report, 29 Nov. 1793.
- 128 M. Jourdain and R. S. Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century*, Feltham 1967, pp. 61–5, Figs. 135–44.
- 129 V.O.C. 185, reports to Batavia, 31 Jan. and 31 Dec. 1760.
- 130 See the various regulations governing the contents of the sea-chests, e.g. V.O.C. 4810 and 4811. For the gifts see V.O.C. 4542, Instructions for the supercargos, 1761.
- 131 Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1903, III.5 (Hoorn Chamber), printed petition to the *Heeren XVII*, 1 March 1740, with printed reply from the *Heeren XVII*.
- 132 V.O.C. 7014, Petition of 9 Oct. 1770. Excerpts from previous petitions to the *Heeren XVII* regarding the purchase of silks and a draft of the answer are likewise included under this number.
- 133 See also the separate lists of the returns on the silks in Hope Coll. No. 8471 over the period 1766–8.
- 134 The grouping of these commodities under the heading 'drugs' is borrowed from the General Reports.
- 135 J. Nieuhoff, *Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham*, etc., Amsterdam 1665, pp. 122–4, where the method of preparation is also described.
- 136 Arch. Canton 162, letter from China Committee, 14 Nov. 1786.
- 137 A. Kircher, *Toonneel van China* etc., Amsterdam 1668, pp. 221–4. See also J. Nieuhoff, *op. cit.* (Note 135), p. 118 and O. Dapper, *Gedenkwaardig Bedrijf* etc., Amsterdam 1670, pp. 205–8.
- 138 V.O.C. 4428, Resolution, 28 Sept. 1785, and letter to China Committee, 21 Aug. 1786.
- 139 Arch. Canton 160, letter from China Committee, 7 Feb. 1785; Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), pp. 303–5. For a detailed explanation of the reasons for the conflict see V.O.C. 4446, General Report, 19 Dec. 1791, in which a letter from a missionary to the Court at Peking is cited. The trade in fine Pekoe tea, a type much in demand in Russia, was also largely conducted via the European Companies at this point. The fur trade, on the other hand, suffered much obstruction, since the Chinese thought that the imported pelts had come from Russia: H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (Note 5), Vol. II, pp. 185–6, Lo-shu Fu, *ibid*, p. 308. The ban was lifted in 1792, Lo-shu Fu, *ibid*, p. 323.
- 140 919 pounds of alum bought in 1730 for 55 guilders fetched 81 guilders. 1,781 pounds of borax were bought in 1759 for 1,350 guilders. 12,462 mother-of-pearl shells (17,911 pounds) were bought in 1738 for 11,703 guilders and sold in Amsterdam for 13,474 guilders. 678 pounds of Chinese ink, bought for 138 guilders in 1732, made 1,460 guilders.
- 141 240 pounds of cinnabar was bought for 456 guilders in 1732 and sold for 1,081; 60 pounds bought for 245 guilders in 1748 was sold for 320 guilders and 1500 pounds was bought in 1773 for 3,900 guilders. Mercury cost fl. 1.20 per pound on average. In 1730 122 pounds was shipped and sold for 262 guilders, in 1732 5,144 pounds for 10,017 guilders.
- 142 V.O.C. 171, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 12 Sept. 1752, 'Requirements for China'. The drawing is missing, alas.
- 143 Radermacher Coll. No. 495, lists of returns on the cargos of the *Rhoon* and the *Baarsande*, 1755.
- 144 C. J. A. Jörg, De handel van de V.O.C. in Oosters lakwerk in de 18de eeuw, *Nederlandse kunstnijverheid en interieurkunst*, N.K.J. Vol. 31, (1980), Haarlem 1981, pp. 355–63.
- 145 T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Aanbesteding en verspreiding van Japansch lakwerk door de Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw', *Jaarverslag van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*, 82–3 (1941), pp.

- 54–74. For the use of Oriental lacquer in Dutch 17th-century lacquer cabinets see *idem*, 'Stadhouderlijke lakkabinetten', *Opstellen voor H. van de Waal*, Amsterdam/Leiden 1970, pp. 164–73.
- 146 A. M. Lubberhuizen-van Gelder ('Chineesche geschilderde behangsels', *Oud Holland*, 58 (1941), pp. 23–33) discusses the wallpapers that were ordered in 1787 and shipped to the Netherlands in 1788. However, she deals only with the shipments for Zeeland on the *Goede Trouw*, whereas wallpapers were also sent at the same time for the Amsterdam and Hoorn Chambers. The arrival of the *Goede Trouw* is further wrongly dated 1788 instead of 1789, while the reference to K.A. 8333 concerning this shipment is also incorrect (this number relates to the *Nieuwliet*, 1734), so that the interesting sale list she mentions can no longer be found. In other respects too data from the records have been wrongly interpreted in her article. For example, the 'presentation chests' for William V did not contain wallpapers, but only tea.
- 147 V.O.C. 171, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 12 Sept. 1752, 'Requirements for China'.
- 148 J. de Loos-Haaxman, 'De behangselfabriek der vaderlandsche maatschappij te Hoorn', *N.K.J.*, Vol. 12 (1961), pp. 149–92. Designs for wallpapers from the Hoorn factory are also illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, *Tuyngezigten en Blomkamers*, Gemeente Museum, The Hague, 1972.
- 149 Arch. Canton 132, 'Requirements for China', 7 Oct. 1766.
- 150 V.O.C. 4401, General Report, 31 Dec. 1767, and Resolution, 20 Aug. 1767. The costs of smuggling enamelwork amounted to over one guilder per catty (12½ pounds). The price of copper was fl. 5.75 per catty. Because of this increase in price the buying of copper only remained of interest to private individuals: Arch. Canton 256, Resolution, 25 Oct. 1794. Moreover, if smuggling were to be detected, the rest of the trade might be seriously hampered, as the English discovered in 1786.
- 151 There was, of course, no ban on the import of copper. China's trade with Japan was largely based on the buying of copper and Chinese merchants imported Japanese copper into the country via Amoy, Limpo and other ports, the internal trade being conducted under an Imperial monopoly: V.O.C. 4423, letter to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1782. Some Japanese bar copper was also imported into China via Batavia every now and then: Lo-shu Fu, *op. cit.* (Note 9), p. 252. In the 1770's the Japanese copper met with competition from Swedish copper, which was imported by the Swedish Company and which was better and also cheaper, at 15 tael a picul: V.O.C. 4436, Journal, 27 Sept. 1787; H. Furber, *op. cit.* (Note 104), pp. 248–51.
- 152 V.O.C. 4438, General Report, 31 Dec. 1788, and the anonymous manual for supercargos in the Maritime Museum in Rotterdam (Note 13). See also *Hobson-Jobson*, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, etc., by H. Yule & A. C. Burnell, London 1903, under *Toutnague*. H. Furber (*op. cit.* (Note 104), p. 148) mistakenly omits spelter from his summing up of metals that were important in the Asiatic trade.
- 153 A. Setterwall, S. Fogelmarck and B. Gyllensvärd, *Kina Slot på Drottningholm*, Malmö 1972, p. 318, Cat. No. ö 256. F. Valentijn, (*op. cit.* (Note 108), Vol. IV. Book 2, p. 12) already notes: 'From China come all sorts of chattels of a certain metal, being the nearest to silver'.
- 154 It is not clear whether more selective purchasing was the reason for this or whether the purchase price dropped as a result of the fall in demand, but after 1757 a profit was made on spelter again, after years of loss. Some examples: in 1738 110,262 pounds, bought for 29,253 guilders, made a loss of 8%; in 1744 a 6% loss was suffered on 176,301 pounds; in 1758 198,311 pounds was bought for 22,778 guilders and sold for 49,662 guilders, a gross profit of 74%, while in 1765 a gross profit of 80% was made on 100,056 pounds. Spelter continued to be bought right to the end, *i.e.* in the 1790's.
- 155 Some examples: in 1766 110,000 pounds was bought for the *Jonge Thomas* for 29,421 guilders and sold for 45,552 guilders, a gross profit of 55%; in 1771 97,092 pounds bought for *Het Lam* for 24,235 guilders made a gross profit of 38%; in 1785 85,897 pounds bought for the *Afrikaan* for 21,895 guilders was sold for 35,964 guilders, a gross profit of 64%.

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## Notes to Chapter III

- 1 T. Volker, 'Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company, as recorded in the dagh-registers of Batavia castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and other contemporary papers, 1602-1682', *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden*, No. 11, Leiden 1954. Cited below as T. Volker, *Porcelain*.
- 2 H. E. van Gelder, 'Gegevens omtrent den porcelein-handel der Oost-Indische Compagnie', *Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek*, 10, The Hague 1924, pp. 165-93.
- 3 T. Volker, *Porcelain*, p. 59.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 113-6 and 129-37.
- 5 S. Jenyns, *Later Chinese Porcelain, the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1912)*, London 1951, pp. 20-1 and 24-5.
- 6 T. Volker, *Porcelain*, annual surveys of the porcelain trade in Japan, pp. 122-76, of the inter-Asiatic trade pp. 177-222, and his conclusions on pp. 218-20.
- 7 T. Volker, *The Japanese porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company after 1683*, *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden*, No. 13, Leiden 1959, p. 70. This publication is cited below as T. Volker, *Japanese porcelain trade*.
- 8 V.O.C. 4586-4590, 'General Statements' 1680-1730; V.O.C. 6989, 'Collocation of Sales'. From further research in the Incoming Letters and Papers of that period it ought to be possible to discover whether porcelain was indeed missing from the cargos of the return ships.
- 9 J. Feenstra Kuiper, *Japan en de buitenwereld in de achttiende eeuw, Werken Nederlandsch Economisch-Historisch Archief*, Vol 3, The Hague 1921, pp. 90, 187-8.
- 10 T. Volker gives numerous examples of this in both his books. See *Porcelain*, the annual surveys 1658-1682 (pp. 127-92 and 205-18), and *Japanese porcelain trade*, the surveys 1685-1730 (pp. 13-54) and also pp. 70-1. This is also clearly demonstrated by English East India Company documents cited by G. A. Godden, *Oriental export market porcelain*, London etc. 1979, pp. 23, 306-8. See also *idem*, 'Sources of Japanese porcelains in England', *Arts of Asia* 10-6, Hong Kong 1980, pp. 133-40.
- 11 T. Volker, *Japanese porcelain trade*, pp. 9 and 72.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9; Feenstra Kuiper, *op. cit.* (note 9) pp. 90-3 and 160-1.
- 13 H. Nishida, *Japanese export porcelain during the 17th and 18th century*, dissertation in typescript, Oxford 1974.
- 14 *Idem*, *Imari Ware, Nippon Toji Zenshu*, Vol. 23, Tokyo 1976, pp. i-ii.
- 15 K. N. Chaudhuri, *The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company, 1600-1760*, Cambridge 1978, p. 407.
- 16 I would like to thank Mrs. M. G. A. Schippers-van Lottum for the information she gave me about this. See also G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), p. 42. Further research would be needed to discover what amounts of porcelain were involved here and how regular the importation was.

- 17 This emerges from the advice given by Wijbrand Blom (see p. 97). For the regulations regarding porcelain on freight see p. 140, notes 177–9.
- 18 J. de Hullu, 'De porseleinhandel der Oost-Indische Compagnie en Cornelis Pronk als haar tekenaar', *Oud Holland*, 33 (1913), pp. 49–62; cited below as J. de Hullu, 'De porseleinhandel'.
- 19 I. G. A. N. de Vries, *Porselein, Chineesch en Europeesch porselein*, The Hague 1923.
- 20 For example, the Amsterdam Chamber wrote in 1730: 'Porcelains, as many of the finest sorts and those most in demand here as will be required for the necessary cargo and good stowage in both ships, which must all be carefully packed in chests and well protected against breakage', V.O.C. 352, copy of 'Requirements' of 27 Nov. 1730.
- 21 V.O.C. 352, letter to the *Hoge Regering*, 17 Dec. 1731, copy of 'Requirements' with instructions for the composition of a dinner service. The Zeeland instructions of November 1732 for the *Nieuwliet* are in Radermacher Coll, No. 496.
- 22 V.O.C. 7476. Here are to be found: 1. the list of contents (bill of lading) of the chest containing samples of porcelain. This list is identical with the 'Bill of lading of goods... sent in the Company's ship *Nieuwliet* to China in order to be used in the trade there', n.d., in Radermacher Coll. No. 495.  
2. the 'List of the samples of porcelain sent with the required changes also mentioned', which concerns the same samples as those referred to under 1.  
3. six 'Regulations' for dinner and tea services, in which descriptions are given of the composition of services of different sizes. These documents are not dated, but it is clear from the other documents in this file that they must have been drawn up around 1732 and that they thus relate to the second voyage of the *Nieuwliet*.
- 23 C. S. Woodward, *Oriental Ceramics at the Cape of Good Hope 1652–1795, an account of the porcelain trade of the Dutch East India Company with particular reference to ceramics with the V.O.C. monogram, the Cape market and South African collections*, Cape Town/Rotterdam 1974, pp. 80–3, fig. 117. The N is not intertwined with the other letters there.
- 24 These drawings have not survived. They are likewise mentioned in the identical list in Radermacher Coll. No. 495. The amounts required to be made after them are not stated.
- 25 V.O.C. 4374, Journal of *Coxborn*, 28 Sept. 1729. In 1728 and 1729 the Amsterdam Chamber sent chests with samples and models 'of porcelain and earthenware' on the *Coxborn*, the *Buren*, which sank and the *Duijffe*. These chests of samples were bought from Pieter Fouquet Jonasz. for fl. 169.60, 169.40 and 161.10 respectively. No samples were sent on the other four voyages: V.O.C. 7150, Daybook of the Amsterdam Chamber, fols. 133, 471 and 525. The 'earthenware' probably came from Delft.
- 26 V.O.C. 2219, 'Written opinion...' (see Chapter I, Note 59).
- 27 V.O.C. 256, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 8 March 1734; in V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 11 March 1734, mention is made of this in similar terms. The decisive factor was the example of private individuals who had had porcelain made in the same way in China, 'which has yielded uncommonly good returns'.
- 28 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 12 March 1734; V.O.C. 256, Res. Amsterdam Chamber, 29 March 1734.
- 29 V.O.C. 328, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to the *Hoge Regering*, 20 Nov. 1734 (not 12 Nov. as Volker writes). J. de Hullu ('De porseleinhandel', pp. 60–1) quotes almost the whole of this letter; T. Volker gives part of it in *Japanese porcelain trade*, pp. 55–6, Note 59 and p. 79.
- 30 One design has been given the name 'the lady with the parasol', the other that of 'the doctors'. The first person to draw attention to these designs was I. G. A. N. de Vries, *op. cit.* (Note 19), pp. 8–9. J. P. van Goidsenhoven also published them in his *La Céramique Chinoise sous les Ts'ing*, Brussels 1936, pp. 255–7, figs. 260, 264. Both authors were vague as to the whereabouts of the designs and it was Volker who rediscovered them in the house of Mrs. A. F. Bodenheimer-Rehrmann in Amsterdam, see *Japanese porcelain trade*, pp. 79–80. The designs are now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 1967: 17–20. The full story of the commission to Pronk and the porcelains made after his designs is described by C. J. A. Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain, por-*

*celain after designs by Cornelis Pronk*, exhibition catalogue Groningen Museum/Gemeente Museum The Hague, Groningen 1980.

- 31 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 31 Aug. 1734. Of each design there had to be made five copies, which Pronk was allowed to declare separately. J. de Hullu ('De porseleinhandel', pp. 61–2) cites the actual contract, but not the introductory section, from which it appears that the drawings were presented by the Company's advocate Westerveen on behalf of the Delft delegates Van Spieringshoek and Van der Dussen, neither of whom had a seat that year.
- 32 V.O.C. 4379, Trade Report to the *Heeren XVII*, 31 Dec. 1736, and Unpacking Book of porcelains; V.O.C. 2410, report to Batavia, 14 Feb. 1737; C. J. A. Jörg, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 19–20.
- 33 V.O.C. 166, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 10 March 1738, 'Requirements for China', 1739; C. J. A. Jörg, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 19–20.
- 34 V.O.C. 2410, report to Batavia, 19 Feb. 1738.
- 35 V.O.C. 166, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 26 Feb. 1739, 'Requirements for China', 1740. The final decision to end this experiment was taken in 1740: V.O.C. 204, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 7 April 1740, 'Requirements for China' 1741; C. J. A. Jörg, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 41–2, Appendix 4.
- 36 V.O.C. 2502, report to Batavia, 1 Feb. 1741.
- 37 This tallies with the payment of the fees to Pronk over four years. The last payment of 1,200 guilders was made on 1 Nov. 1737, 220 guilders being charged for the 5 copies: V.O.C. 7179, Daybook of Amsterdam Chamber, fol. 429.
- 38 J. P. van Goidsenhoven (*op. cit.* (Note 30) p. 258) was the first to attribute this design to Pronk.
- 39 D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West*, 2 vols., London/New York 1978, pp. 294–95; C. J. A. Jörg, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 32–4.
- 40 T. Volker, *Japanese porcelain trade*, pp. 57–64; C. J. A. Jörg, *op. cit.* (Note 30), pp. 16–7, figs. 32–36.
- 41 V.O.C. 165, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 22 March 1736, 'Requirements for China' of 1737, with a copy of the 1734 'Requirements' for porcelain. The original 'Requirements' of 1734 are lost. The following kinds of porcelain are mentioned in these 'Requirements': dinner and tea services; chocolate cups and saucers; double coffee cups and saucers; single teacups and saucers; slop bowls; tea pots; milk jugs; dinner plates, both single and double, 'of these last there is a great shortage'; 'Strainers with holes to set on dishes'; nests of sugar bowls, three per nest; butter or sugar pots with two handles and a lid; bowls with lids and saucers; cuspidors, 'round and angular, with wide openings'; rosewater bottles; chamber pots, 'round, with and without lids, but reasonably handsome'; shaving bowls, round and oval; five-piece cupboard garnitures 4 to 6 *duim* high; small bottles  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 6 *duim* high; walking-stick handles; handles for knives and forks; butter dishes 7 *duim* in diameter and 'nests of angular containers'.  
All the kinds were asked for in blue-and-white as well as enamel colours, apart from the tea pots, because the blue were 'too numerous and too cheap' in the Netherlands. Many kinds were also asked for in 'coloured and gold' or Chinese Imari and the drinking vessels also in browns of various kinds.
- 42 For example, in 1738 when 10,000 plates, 1,000 slop bowls, 100,000 pairs of tea and coffee cups and saucers and 20,000 pairs of chocolate cups with saucers but without lids were added to the 'Requirements': V.O.C. 166, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 10 March 1738, 'Requirements for China', 1739.
- 43 V.O.C. 168, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 12 March 1744, 'Requirements for China', 1745. Among the new kinds mentioned here are: 200 bouillon cups with lids, 1,000 fish dishes, 1,500 octagonal salad bowls, 4,000 cuspidors with and without handles, 2,000 'vomit pots with handles', 1,200 butter dishes, 2,000 milk bowls and 2,000 large slop bowls.
- 44 In V.O.C. 169, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 22 March 1746, 'Requirements for China', 1747, for example, nine samples are mentioned, among other things for 5,000 dishes, 2,000 dinner plates (*twijfelaarsborden*), 600 salad dishes and 50 pairs of 'cows, each pair with the heads facing each other' (see pp. 175–6).
- 45 V.O.C. 170, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 11 Sept. 1750, 'Requirements for China', 1752.
- 46 A few other examples of new kinds asked for: in 1749 seven drawings were sent, including some for oval

- bouillon bowls and for 'dishes to be used with the fish dishes for shrimps, butter, etc.' In 1750 the 24 drawings included punchbowls, sauce boats and 'porringers or soup bowls with handles and saucers'. In 1752 the 28 drawings included 'coffee cups for Turks', oval salad bowls with scalloped rims and 'vases or pots for sets'. The drawings sent in 1754 also showed 'caudle pots', fish plates, octagonal bowls with lids and saucers, coolers, 'bottles for flowers' and 'bottles for ornament'.
- 47 V.O.C. 4380, Res. Canton, 24 Oct. 1755, description of sample chest received from the *Getrouwigheid*.
- 48 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese export porcelain, Chine de commande*, London/New York 1974, pp. 65, 89. The English East India Company likewise used wooden models from time to time. G. A. Godden (*op. cit.* (Note 10), p. 43) cites a letter concerning a bill for 'wood patterns for China ware' of 1710.
- 49 Arch. Canton 119, 'Requirements for China', 1758, 6 Dec. 1756.
- 50 V.O.C. 4543, 'Requirements for the Porcelains for the Year 1758', n.d.
- 51 V.O.C. 4557, 'Requirements for the Return Shipments from China for the Years 1758 and 1759', 8 Oct. 1757. Although these 'Requirements' are completely different from the two above, they are nonetheless called 'Requirements 1758'. It is clear from the dating, however, that 1758 is not meant here to indicate the date of arrival in the Netherlands of the goods requested, as is normally the case, but the date of the trading in China. In the years thereafter the date is also that of the trading year.
- 52 Arch. Canton 121, letter from G. Titsing to the supercargos, Amsterdam, 16 Nov. 1758.
- 53 Arch. Canton 121, 'Authentic Documents concerning the trade, 1759–60', fols. 81–93.
- 54 M. Beurdeley (*Porcelaine de la Compagnie des Indes*, Fribourg 1962, pp. 121–2), illustrates the Precht design; D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 39), pp. 413–5 gives the Okeover design; the design for a dinner plate in the Dresden manner is described by E. Köllmann, 'Von Amsterdam nach Kanton und zurück – Entwurf eines Dekors und seine Ausführung in Chine de Commande', *Keramos*, 87, Jan. 1980, pp. 3–10.
- 55 Radermacher Coll. no. 328, 'Provisional calculation of the sale scheduled to be held by the Zeeland Chamber on 9 November 1761'; V.O.C. 13377 'Compilation of Sales', vol. 5, sale of goods brought by the *Velsen*.
- 56 Arch. Canton 133, 'Requirements for China', 1769, 29 Aug. 1767. See I. G. A. N. de Vries, *op. cit.* (Note 19), p. 25; De Vries quotes the passage from the 'Requirements' about the English factories, but wrongly links it to comments about coffee pots that had been sent to the Netherlands in 1766 in accordance with a drawing. D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer (*op. cit.* (Note 48), p. 107–8) again draws from this the erroneous conclusion that the Dutch East India Company wanted coffee pots on the English model.
- 57 V.O.C. 4409 General Report, 28 Nov. 1772, and V.O.C. 4411, General Report, 20 Dec. 1773. From the use of the word 'models', it seems likely that these were not designs for decorations, but models for forms.
- 58 Arch. Canton 153, letter from China Committee to Canton, 26 Oct. 1779, in which reference is made to the 'Requirements' of 1777.
- 59 V.O.C. 4551, 'Description of the porcelain samples sent', appendix to 'Requirements for China, 1779', 19 Dec. 1777, and the 'Amplification of the Requirements'. In all probability the 'cherry-picker' pattern is borrowed from a print by Nicolas Ponce after Antoine Baudoin, see M. Beurdeley, *op. cit.* (note 54), pp. 56–8. In view of the other samples, it seems likely that not the print, but a piece of European porcelain with this pattern was sent. The supercargos were not satisfied with it and wrote that they had ordered porcelain with this decoration 'after a finer pattern', so they must thus have had at their disposal similar models which were evidently available in Canton: V.O.C. 4417, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779.
- 60 Arch. Canton 151, 'Requirements for China, 1780', 15 Nov. 1778, with appended description of the samples.
- 61 Arch. Canton 155, letter from China Committee to Canton, 6 Nov. 1780, with comments on the purchases of 1779 and the 'Requirements for China' for 1782. See also V.O.C. 4423 'Comments on the *Voorberg* porcelains', with many criticisms of the pur-

- chases of 1779. The purchase was recommended of small dinner services, which the English bought cheap in Canton and sold again with great profit in Amsterdam.
- 62 Arch. Canton 160, 'Requirements for China', 1786, with description of the samples sent.
- 63 Canton 161, letter from China Committee to Canton, 18 Oct. 1785.
- 64 Arch. Canton 158, letter from China Committee to Canton, 27 Aug. 1783.
- 65 Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee to Canton, 17 Sept. 1785.
- 66 This misunderstanding originated with I. G. A. N. de Vries (*op. cit.* (note 19), who writes about the *tekenaars* (draughtsmen) of the Company. What has happened here is that he has confounded the idea of designer/decorator with the phrase commonly used in the signing of reports and letters from Canton, to which the supercargos appended their names as *teeckenaars*, i.e. signatories.
- 67 Arch. Canton 164, letter from China Committee to Canton and 'Requirements for China', 1789, 17 Oct. 1787.
- 68 Arch. Canton 175, letter from China Committee to Canton, 4 Oct. 1793.
- 69 Arch. Canton 256, General Report, 11 Jan. 1795, par. 74.
- 70 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 48), p. 117, figs. 160–2; exhibition catalogue *De Chinese porseleinkast*, 1968, cat. no. 261. In the catalogue of the exhibition *China – Delft – Europa, Chinoiserie*, Prinsenhof, Delft, 1976 (cat. no. 216) Princess Wilhelmina's reaction to this gift is mentioned. She probably misheard the name of the presenter and it was not 'Mr. Eminckson', but U. G. Hemmingson, ex-director of the Dutch factory in Canton, who presented the services and sets of furniture. Hemmingson was discharged at his own request in 1790 and left Canton in an English ship in early February 1791, so he could certainly have arrived in the Netherlands in July. See also M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, Ulrich Gualtherus Hemmingson, verbindingschakel tussen China en Nederland, *Nederlandse kunstnijverheid en interieurkunst*, N.K.J. 31 (1980), Haarlem 1981, pp. 456–74.
- 71 H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635–1834*, Oxford 1926, Vol. II, p. 3. See for a general survey of the porcelain trade of the English East India Company: G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 15–54.
- 72 The merchants of the period 1729–35 mentioned earlier also continued to play a role now, Labin in particular. In addition there regularly crop up in the daybooks and resolutions the names of the porcelain suppliers Simon, Lionqua, Attay, Sinqua, Tan Conqua and Tsja Hunqua. Twenty other merchants receive only sporadic mention, the sums involved in their supplying being only small.
- 73 W. A. Staehelin, *Das Buch vom Porzellan*, Bern 1965, fig. 33. See also note 109.
- 74 Exhibition catalogue *De Chinese Porseleinkast*, 1968, cat. no. 198, reproduced on cover; A. M. Palmer, *A Winterthur Guide to Chinese Export Porcelain*, New York 1976, fig. 4; J. Goldsmith Phillips, *China Trade Porcelain*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1956, frontispiece.
- 75 V.O.C. 4381, General Report, 19 Jan. 1758.
- 76 V.O.C. 4381, 'Notes and Minutes', contract drawn up 'at Jongsinsee-zuan, the suburb of Canton', 11 Jan. 1758. A similar contract the English East India Company concluded with the porcelain dealer Exhin in 1774 is cited by G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 43–4, 49.
- 77 V.O.C. 4386, Journal, 23 Aug. 1760.
- 78 V.O.C. 4384, General Report, 11 Jan. 1761. In other documents too the supercargos report at length about the measures against the porcelain dealers, see V.O.C. 4386, Journal, 25 and 29 Aug. 1760, and V.O.C. 4387, 'report for the incoming supercargos' in the report to Batavia, 6 Feb. 1761. An important dealer like Lisjoncon, who had done good business with the Dutch East India Company in previous years, was left with no choice if he wanted to continue supplying and from then on he supplied in the name of the Hong merchant Tan Tsjoouqua (Tan Chowqua).
- 79 Arch. Canton 226, General Report, 4 Jan. 1765.



- 80 The most important shopkeeper was Lisjoncon, closely followed by Pinqua, who had the name for supplying the best quality, but who also charged a high price for it. A rapidly rising dealer of that time was Suchin Chinqua. Between them these three supplied about 75% of all the porcelain bought by the Dutch East India Company in 'boutiques'. Of lesser importance were Giqua Conscientia, Exhin, Sinqa, Koutia Quonnak, who supplied a lot of porcelain for Batavia, and Conjac (Cognac), a name which leaves little room for conjecture as to the weaknesses of this supplier. As small shopkeepers may be mentioned Affu, Boohing, Hapwa, Heijchong, Houqua, Jouqua, Konqua, Namqua, Pontonchong, Pooqua, Quonchong, Senchong, Soychoong, Tauqua, Taxion, Tongfong, Tonhang and Winchong. The ordinary bulk ware, which could simply be obtained from stock, was bought by the Dutch East India Company from the Hong merchant Tsja Hunqua and after 1765 increasingly also from Inksja. Orders were also placed with both of them, especially after 1767.
- 81 See, for example, V.O.C. 4381, Res. Canton, 20 Aug. 1757, and V.O.C. 4384, General Report, 11 Jan. 1761.
- 82 Arch. Canton 224, 'Memorandum in which it is demonstrated that by the buying in of Porcelains in the off-season as against those in the Trading season advantage is gained', appended to the General Report of 24 Dec. 1763. In this it is calculated that the buying-in of porcelain was 8,500 guilders cheaper, because it had been done in the off-season.
- 83 Arch. Canton 226, General Report, 4 Jan. 1765. A large part of this reply has already been cited by J. de Hullu, 'De porseleinhandel', pp. 56–9.
- 84 At the beginning of the 1760's the supercargo G. W. Meezenberg was in charge of the porcelain. After his death in 1766 his task was taken over by J. C. Steeger, who was succeeded in 1771 by J. P. Certon, who did the job until 1782. After that the supervision was in the hands of F. Benthem, assisted by Willem Tros, until his departure in 1791 and during the last years the buying-in was conducted by E. L. Steijn.
- 85 The information regarding 1764, 1765, 1777 and 1784 is taken from the General Reports of those years, in Arch. Canton 226 and 227, V.O.C. 4415 and 4426 respectively. That for 1786 from V.O.C. 4433, Res. Canton, 23 Feb. 1787, for 1788 from V.O.C. 4441, letter to China Committee, 11 Jan. 1789.
- 86 V.O.C. 4411, General Report, 20 Dec. 1773. I. G. A. N. de Vries (*op. cit.* (note 19, p. 26) also mentions this, but does not give the complete quotation.
- 87 V.O.C. 4404, Journal, 16 July 1769. See also V.O.C. 4415, General Report, 31 Jan. 1778.
- 88 V.O.C. 1009, Outgoing letterbook of Batavia, Instructions for the supercargos, 22 May 1755, and V.O.C. 4417, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779. 15% profit is described as normal in both documents and this figure will also have applied to the intervening years.
- 89 V.O.C. 4399, Journal, 4 Sept. 1766.
- 90 V.O.C. 4402, Provisional trade report, 26 Nov. 1768, in which information about this purchase is given in response to the complaints of the directors. No specification of this old ware is given in the settlement and unloading books of 1766.
- 91 Arch. Canton 133, letter from China Committee to Canton, 29 Aug. 1767.
- 92 Twenty porcelain dealers who were considered to have sufficient financial means had to raise 72,000 guilders in all. In exchange for this they were allowed to divide the completely unsaleable stocks of outmoded porcelain among themselves: V.O.C. 4419, Journal, 12 March and 5 May 1779.
- 93 V.O.C. 4419, General Report, 14 Jan. 1780.
- 94 V.O.C. 4425, Journal 21 and 26 Oct. 1783; V.O.C. 4426, General Report, 31 Jan. 1785. His private relations with the Dutch are interesting. From the papers concerning the estate of the usher J. G. Bode, who died in 1787 (V.O.C. 4435, Appendix to the resolutions) it appears that on 12 Jan. 1784 Bode had lent Conjac the sum of 800 rials at an interest rate of 18% a year. Conjac's position was obviously not in jeopardy then. For the rest, over half of this debt was paid off in 1786, so Conjac will probably have continued to carry on his business in another way.
- 95 V.O.C. 4446, Report to Batavia, 19 Dec. 1791.

- 96 C. L. Crossman, *The China Trade*, Princeton 1972, pp. 9–10. Two pattern plates, bearing Synchong's name on the reverse, are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (see Note 134). Another important dealer who did much business with the Americans and English was Exhin, see G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), 49, 286; J. McClure Mudge, *Chinese export porcelain for the American trade, 1785–1835*, Newark (Del.) 1962, pp. 35, 95.
- 97 V.O.C. 4577, Journal, 28 March 1793.
- 98 Arch. Canton 125 contains the lists of the porcelain brought back by the *Kroonenburgh* (1760) and the *Velzen* (1761). Both consignments were sold in Middelburg on 9 November 1761. A supplementary list of the porcelain on the *Velzen* is to be found in Arch. Canton 27. The list of the porcelain carried to Amsterdam in the *A-schat* is to be found in Arch. Canton 129.
- 99 Arch. Canton 129, comments of the supercargos appended to the list of the cargo of the *A-schat*.
- 100 In the period 1729–35 the Chinese tael was valued at around fl. 3.60; in 1736–43 fl. 4.–; in 1744–56 fl. 4.40; in 1757–69 fl. 3.52 and in 1770–94 fl. 3.60. Account has also been taken of the conversion of 'light money' into 'heavy money' in the period 1736–43. See also chapter I, notes 54, 95, 97 and 120.
- 101 In their reports the supercargos mention floods in 1764, civil war in the province of 'Whonnam' (Hunan) from 1767 to 1769 and drought in 1776. They saw this as the reason for the high price of rice, which also had an effect on the production costs of all sorts of goods, including porcelain.
- 102 V.O.C. 4419, letter from Canton to China Committee, 14 Dec. 1779.
- 103 Father d'Entrecolles' two letters, dated 1712 and 1722, were published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères par quelques missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 12, Paris 1717, and Vol. 16, Paris 1724. J. B. Du Halde cites parts of them in his *Description... de l'Empire de la Chine*, Paris 1735, Vol. 2. Text and comments are given by, among others, W. Burton, *Porcelain. A sketch of its nature, art and manufacture*, London etc. 1906, pp. 84–122, and S. W. Bushell, *Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain etc.*, Oxford 1910, pp. 181–222.
- The first Dutchman and probably even the first Westerner to give a reliable and detailed account of the manufacture of porcelain was Joan Nieuhoff (*Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen Keizer van China, van 1655 tot 1657*, etc. Amsterdam 1665, pp. 89–91). On the way to Peking with the embassy he came to 'Ucienjen' on Lake Poyang, which he describes as an emporium for porcelain. There he obtained verbal information about the method of manufacture of porcelain in 'Sinktesimo', as he called Ch'ing-tê Chên, which even now appears sound and reliable.
- 104 P. J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine. The porcelain of Têhua in Fukien*, London 1969. See also G. A. Godden (*op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 257–80), who discusses imports of Blanc de Chine by the English East India Company.
- 105 S. Jenyns, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 79. See also N. Ottema, *Chineesche Ceramiek. Handboek geschreven naar aanleiding van de verzameling in het museum Het Princessehof te Leeuwarden*, Amsterdam 1946<sup>2</sup>, pp. 159–62.
- 106 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l'Empereur de la Chine dans les années 1794 et 1795*, etc. Philadelphia 1797, Vol. II, pp. 45–6. What he writes about the kinds on offer there is also interesting: 'J'y ai trouvé de la porcelaine plus belle que toute celle que j'avois vue à Canton, mais fabriquée seulement pour la consommation et pour le goût des Chinois. Je n'ai pu résister au désir d'acheter une grande quantité des pièces tout à la fois belles et singulières, comme pour me retracer le souvenir de mon passage dans cette ville'.
- 107 See, for example, V.O.C. 4414, Journal, 30 Sept. 1776.
- 108 A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, *op. cit.* (note 106), Vol. I, pp. 50–3.
- 109 W. A. Staehelin (*op. cit.* (Note 73)) illustrates and discusses a complete set of 18th-century gouaches relating to the manufacture, transport and selling of porcelain. Also J. A. Lloyd Hyde, *Oriental Lowestoft*, Newport 1954<sup>2</sup>, plate V and J. M. Mudge, *op. cit.* (Note 96), pp. 57–62.
- 110 N. Ottema, *op. cit.* (Note 105), pp. 241–4, figs. 283–92.

- 111 V.O.C. 4408, Daybook, 1773.
- 112 No mention is made in the literature of the production of porcelain at Nanking, nor are any kilns at Nanking mentioned in Y. Mino and P. Wilson. *An index to Chinese ceramic kiln sites from the Six Dynasties to the present*, Toronto 1973. Van Braam Houckgeest (*op. cit.* (note 106), Vol. I, p. 81) mentions Nanking as a place where ‘poterie’ was made, by which he will have meant earthenware for local use.
- 113 Nanking also played an important part as staple and port in China’s inter-Asiatic trade, including that with Japan. It would be interesting to know whether – and to what extent – Nanking and Canton, concerned with different aspects of the export trade, were attuned to each other and what the mutual relations were between the Honges (trading firms).
- 114 J. Goldsmith Phillips, *op. cit.* (note 74), p. 8. He also explains the name by taking it that porcelain from Ch’ing-tê Chên was transported by sea to Canton via Nanking, but there is nowhere any mention of this in the Dutch East India Company documents, nor in H. B. Morse, *op. cit.* (note 71). In view of the dependence on monsoons and the danger from pirates, it will have been at most only sporadically that a consignment was carried by sea.
- 115 V.O.C. 2762, General Report, 22 March 1750.
- 116 Reports in which Nanking is mentioned by name as the place where the orders were executed are to be found in the papers for the years 1749, 1750, 1754, 1755, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1776, 1777, 1778, 1785 and 1786.
- 117 V.O.C. 2762, General Report, 14 Feb. 1751 and V.O.C. 2484, letter from supercargos to Batavia, 8 Nov. 1775.
- 118 V.O.C. 4413, General Report, 31 Dec. 1775.
- 119 V.O.C. 4415, General Report, 31 Jan. 1778.
- 120 V.O.C. 4421, General Report, 8 Jan. 1781.
- 121 V.O.C. 4417, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779.
- 122 V.O.C. 4419, General Report, 14 Jan. 1780.
- 123 V.O.C. 4433, Res. Canton, 11 Sept. 1786. Compare also a note of 1784, V.O.C. 4426, Journal, 18 Oct. 1784, when the porcelain was slow to arrive and the dealer was unable to give a reason for it, ‘except that there was a decline in the Factories at Nanking because of the dearness of the foodstuffs, principally the rice, etc.’.
- 124 V.O.C. 4433, Res. Canton, 23 Feb. 1786.
- 125 V.O.C. 4432, Report to Batavia, 31 Jan. 1787.
- 126 See p. 129. 750 pieces went into a chest on average; for example, 15 tea services comprising 51 pieces were packed in one chest. See also Note 141.
- 127 Arch. Canton 224, General Report, 24 Dec. 1763. That the English East India Company likewise showed little enthusiasm for the porcelain trade in later years, buying in only a few varieties, is demonstrated by the records, cited by G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 43–9. In 1792 the English Company stopped buying Chinese porcelain altogether.
- 128 See, for example, a report in V.O.C. 2718, Report to Batavia, 15 May 1748: ‘It is difficult to buy in porcelains after samples which people bring with them and that principally the white with blue, since such must be made to order in the uplands.’
- 129 A survey of the various methods of decoration is given in A. L. Hetherington, *Chinese ceramic glazes*, Cambridge 1937; N. Wood, *Oriental glazes*, London 1978, gives chemical analyses. A translation of Chinese sources is given by S. Julien, *Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine Chinoise*, Paris 1856. See also G. R. Sayer, *Ch’ing-tê Chên T’ao Lu*, London 1951.
- 130 The report written by the American William Hickey on his visit to Canton in 1769 is well-known in this connection: A. Spencer (ed.), *Memoirs of William Hickey*, London 1923. The passage in question is cited by J. Goldsmith Phillips, *op. cit.* (note 74), p. 37.
- 131 V.O.C. 4409, *General Report*, 28 Nov. 1772, appendix e.
- 132 This emerges from various orders, e.g. V.O.C. 4401, ‘Memorandum of porcelain ordered’, 25 Dec. 1767. In connection with the painting of porcelain in general it is interesting to read that some of the pigments needed were imported by the Chinese. Thus in

- 1768, for example, 3,600 pounds of 'Prussian blue' were sold in Canton by a Danish ship, while a ship from Manilla brought almost 2,000 pounds of 'Galan' or vermillion: V.O.C. 4403, 'List of imports of foreign ships', 1768.
- 133 The porcelain painters probably transferred the drawing on to the porcelain by pricking holes in it and pouncing powdered charcoal through them. In 1737 the *Heeren XVII* thought that it ought not to make much difference in price whether ten or a hundred pieces of porcelain were done in a single pattern, since the Chinese potter could make use 'of the same spones', Res. *Heeren XVII*, 29 Feb. 1739. The drawings that were kept at the factory for checking purposes were perhaps destroyed in 1791, when a large number of 'old and useless papers' from its archives were burnt, V.O.C. 4446, Journal, 21 Dec. 1791. The designs were undoubtedly used by the porcelain painters without the knowledge of their customers, so that a given decoration could rapidly become common.
- 134 Pattern-plates are illustrated in: M. Beurdeley, *op. cit.* (Note 54), cat. no. 208; W. B. Honey, *Guide to the later Chinese porcelain*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London 1927, fig. 110d; J. M. Mudge, *op. cit.* (note 96), fig. 124; S. Roth, *Chinese porcelain imported by the Swedish East India Company*, Göteborg 1965, fig. 16.
- 135 M. Jourdain and R. S. Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century*, Feltham 1967, pp. 53–6. J. Goldsmith Phillips, *op. cit.* (note 74), pp. 60–1, figs. 6, 37 and 38) mentions the service of S. de Albuquerque, in which some of the pieces are not porcelain, but enamelled copper.
- 136 V.O.C. 4403, Inventory and sale list of the property of the supercargo François Helene van Eijmbeek, who died in 1768. The executors made good a debt of 18,5 tael that he had incurred with 'Quinqua the porcelain painter'.
- 137 Hope Coll. No. 8471, Memorandum on porcelains, n.d. (1765) and Arch. Canton 133, 'Requirements for China', 1769, 29 Aug. 1767, from which I. G. A. N. de Vries (*op. cit.* (note 19), p. 26) has taken his quotation about 'the coloured ware where the red flowers come off', etc.
- 138 V.O.C. 4419, General Report, 14 Jan. 1780.
- 139 This tallies with what G. A. Godden (*op. cit.* (Note 10) p. 221) says regarding the porcelain trade of the English East India Company.
- 140 For the packing of the various kinds of porcelain see, for example, Arch. Canton 27, Res. 3 Sept. 1764; Arch. Canton 172, 'Requirements', 1793, 25 Oct. 1791. A bundle comprised on average 50 to 60 dinner plates or 25 one-pint slop bowls or 80 half-pint bowls. A tub contained around 15 large or 20 small punch bowls or 40 dinner plates.
- 141 In 1756 the *Heeren XVII* put in a request for stronger mounts. The Hong merchant Tsja Hunqua, who had to see to this, was surprised by it and pointed out that other Companies did not need any mounts at all, since they probably handled their chests more carefully, Arch. Canton 22, report to Batavia, 20 June 1756. According to requirements a chest could be packed with two 113-piece dessert services, 75 coffee pots, 150 tea pots, 2,500 Moorish cups, 15 51-piece tea services, 300 half-pint bowls with saucers, 430 cuspidors, 35 tureens with appurtenances or 1200 coffee cups and saucers.
- 142 V.O.C. 4441, letter from supercargos to China Committee, 11 Jan. 1789, in which they confirm that the chests have been made according to the 'new measurement'. This had, in fact, already been suggested in 1775, V.O.C. 4413, General Report, 31 Dec. 1775.
- 143 Over the years the price of a chest, including the iron mounts, went up from fl. 1.44 in the 1740's to fl. 2.70 in 1769. Thus for a cargo of porcelain the total amount posted by the supercargos in the daybooks or invoices came to 1,000 to 1,500 guilders, reckoned as packing costs. For the 'key chests' that were placed against the sides of the ship the Chinese carpenter came and took the measurements on board. The porcelain had to be stowed so that it was completely immovable and 'as good as a floor'.
- 144 Arch. Canton 129, comments on the 'Rough Calculation regarding the Porcelain sent in the year 1762 on the ship *A-Schat*'. In money this came to a sum of around 1,250 guilders per ship in the period after 1757.
- 145 V.O.C. 171, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 8 Oct. 1753, 'Requirements for China', 1755. See also, for example, their complaint in V.O.C. 172, 'Requirements', 1757,

- Res. 17 Oct. 1755, that the chests had been filled with porcelain to above their rims and that the lid had then been nailed on by main force.
- 146 V.O.C. 329, letter from *Heeren XVII* to the *Hoge Regering*, 4 Sept. 1739.
- 147 A good idea of the method of stowage is given in the 'Memorandum on the loading of the ships', 30 June 1767, V.O.C. 4401. Around 150 tubs and 250 bundles could be stowed in the boatswain's store-room.
- 148 Arch. Canton 27, Res., 22 June and 3 Sept. 1764. See also note 99.
- 149 Arch. Canton 223, General Report, 29 Dec. 1762.
- 150 The first 'Memorandum in which is shown which samples and patterns are brought together in each ship' dates from 1762, V.O.C. 4390. These lists were used in drawing up the sale catalogues, in which the numbers were likewise arranged according to decoration, see p. 131.
- 151 V.O.C. 7474.
- 152 On some kinds a loss was made, on others the gross profit could run up to over 400%. Some examples: two dinner services of 524 pieces, with bouquets in enamel colours and gold rims, together fetched 970 guilders, a profit of 29½%. For five blue-and-white octagonal services of 120 pieces, however, only 155 guilders was paid, a loss of nearly 32%. Blue-and-white punchbowls, 10 *duim* in diameter, which were bought for 45 cents apiece, fetched 3 guilders each; 100 Chinese Imari dinner plates made fl. 46.50, a profit of 62%. A salad bowl bought for fl. 1.68 was sold for fl. 5.75. Shaving bowls and cuspidors made neither a profit nor a loss. A hundred double coffee cups and saucers, blue-and-white with a brown rim, cost fl. 11.55 in Canton and fetched fl. 37.50, *i.e.* a profit of 225%. Completely white coffee cups and saucers were sold to even greater advantage: 100 bought for fl. 9.80 sold for fl. 50.25, a profit of 413%. Blue-and-white slop bowls made a profit of 288%, Chinese Imari 382%. Blue-and-white tureens, bought for fl. 2.62 apiece, were sold for 15 guilders each.
- 153 Acquisitions of 1st Dept., 1914, X-13-E.
- 154 An indication that catalogues were published on more than one occasion in the 1760's is to be found in V.O.C. 4390, General Report, 29 Dec. 1762, in which the supercargos in sending the memorandum on the samples and patterns suggest 'having this Memorandum printed at the back of one of the porcelain books for the guidance of the Buyers'.
- 155 V.O.C. 13377.
- 156 Arch. Canton 161, letter from China Committee, 17 Sept. 1785.
- 157 N. Ottema, *op. cit.* (Note 105), p. 217; D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 48), p. 70. A copy of the auction catalogue is in the library of the Prinsessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.
- 158 His letter of application is to be found in the Radermacher Coll., No. 112. For the settlement of the petition see V.O.C. 7258, minutes of Zeeland Chamber, 8 Nov. 1731.
- 159 The debtors' statements of the Amsterdam Chamber are included in V.O.C. 4592–4597, 'General Statements', 1730–1789.
- 160 See the complaints of the *Heeren XVII* about this in V.O.C. 171, Res. 8 Oct. 1753.
- 161 Use has been made here of the figures for the returns as given in Appendices 6 and 9. Obviously – especially after 1765 – these only represent returns from the years and the ships about which information is available and which can be compared.
- 162 V.O.C. 988, Outgoing letterbook of Batavia, Instruction to the supercargos, 4 June 1735. T. Volker (*Japanese Porcelain Trade*, pp. 4–7) gives various resolutions of the *Heeren XVII* in which the number of porcelains on ships and in factories was fixed.
- 163 The shipment of 1756 may serve as an example, but it must be remembered here that the sums for the 'small shop' in Batavia became higher after 1750: Amboina, Banda and Coromandel 267 pieces each in 1 chest, purchase price 108 guilders per chest; Ternate 167 pieces, 1 chest, 92 guilders; Macassar, Ceylon and Bengal, each 450 pieces in 2 chests at 252 guilders each; the north-east coast of Java 467 pieces, 3 chests, 325 guilders; Malacca 482 pieces, 3 chests, 241 guilders; west coast of Sumatra and Gamron, each 134

- pieces in 1 chest, 65 guilders; the Cape 2,900 pieces, 13 chests, 1,563 guilders; Batavia (small shop) 15,000 pieces in 68 chests, 6962 guilders: Arch. Canton 129, General Report, 15 March 1757.
- 164 V.O.C. 2806, report to Batavia, 15 May 1748.
- 165 M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, 'Een Nederlandse vestiging in de Perzische Golf', *Spiegel Historiae*, II (1967), no. 9, pp. 480–8.
- 166 Arch. Canton 217, General Report, 23 Jan. 1756.
- 167 In 1750, for example, 361,929 pieces of porcelain were sent in 170 chests, of which 1010 were rose-water bottles, 8,753 water bowls with stands and the remainder coffee cups. The total value came to 19,928 guilders, V.O.C. 2781, letter to Batavia, 8 Nov. 1750.
- 168 This emerges from the answer given by E. de Wendt, director at Canton, to Johan de Roth, director at Surat concerning the large amount of porcelain that was said to have arrived in Surat broken, Arch. Canton 318, letter to Surat, 14 Nov. 1755. In 1754 46 chests were sent with 35,219 pieces of porcelain, in 1755 177 chests with 178,736 pieces to a value of 21,179 guilders.
- 169 D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 39), pp. 461–84; G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 81–4.
- 170 V.O.C. 2682, Unpacking book of porcelains on the *Magdalena*, 1736, with list of samples of the porcelains sent.
- 171 The transport contracts have survived in one or two cases, see, for example, Arch. Canton 127, contract (in Chinese) for the transport of goods from Macao to Batavia, 1764. The freight charge at that time was fl. 7.50 per picul. In 1781, however, there is a mention of 15% of the purchase price being paid for transshipment, V.O.C. 4423, letter to Batavia, 6 Jan. 1782.
- 172 The shipment of 1778, to the value of 3258 guilders (all kinds blue-and-white), may serve as an example of what kinds were sent: 441 large round dishes, 450 medium sized and 448 small round dishes, 2,500 flat plates, 2,500 soup plates, 200 rice platters, 20 tureens or soup bowls with saucers and covers, 100 butter dishes, 1,200 large bowls and 1,220 small bowls, Arch. Canton 286, invoice, 12 Jan. 1779.
- 173 V.O.C. 4442, Report to Batavia, 26 Dec. 1789.
- 174 The competition was announced on 1 June, 1778, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Vol. I (1781), p. 71. The results were not mentioned.
- 175 V.O.C. 4413, General Report, 31 Dec. 1775.
- 176 V.O.C. 4438, letter from Batavia to China Committee, 28 Sept. 1788.
- 177 In 1694 the price of porcelain on freight was fixed at a guilder a pound. In 1717 50% of the value was stipulated as the freight charge, in 1718 40%, T. Volker, *Japanese porcelain trade*, pp. 4–5.
- 178 Res. *Hoge Regering*, 10 July 1744, in which a freight charge of 50% is mentioned. This was changed to 40% by a Resolution of 14 August 1744, J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. V, p. 152.
- 179 Res. *Hoge Regering*, 15 April 1763. J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. VII, p. 617. In 1788, 1789 and 1790 the possibility was again offered of sending porcelain on freight for 40% of its value, T. Volker, *Japanese porcelain trade*, p. 6. It nowhere appears that use was made of this either.
- 180 V.O.C. 4593–4595, 'General Statements', 1744–63.
- 181 In the case of the English East India Company this possibility had already existed since the beginning of the 18th century: G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 59–60, 207–8.
- 182 V.O.C. 170, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 9 Sept. 1750. The decision did not come into effect until the adoption of the Resolution of 22 March 1754 by the *Hoge Regering*, J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. VI, pp. 650–1. The *Hoge Regering* had tried to find a compromise solution in 1751 by lowering the freight charge on porcelain for private individuals to 280 guilders per 3,000 pounds, Resolutions of 2 July and 27 August 1751, J. A. van der Chijs, *Plakaatboek*, Vol. VI, pp. 71 and 82.
- 183 V.O.C. 13377.
- 184 V.O.C. 7006.
- 185 Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1914, X-13-B and C. The

- first sale comprised private goods brought on 'T *Huijs ten Donk* and *De Erfprins* and sold at Delft on 19 Nov. 1765. The second sale on 11 Nov. 1766 comprised goods of 'officers returning home from their permitted chests' from the ships 's-*Gravesande* and *Bleijswijk*. The third sale was held on 10 Nov. 1767 with goods from the *Vreeburg*, the fourth on 15 Nov. 1768 with goods from the *Ritthem*. Only in the sale list of 1767 are the proceeds noted in the margin beside some of the lot numbers.
- 186 The English private trade in Oriental porcelain and its relationship to the porcelain trade of the English East India Company are discussed by G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 55–88. Some of this porcelain will also have been sold to the Netherlands.
- 187 Sale Harry Phillips, Bond Street, London, Catalogue Dec. 1797, cited by G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 10), pp. 214–5.
- 188 This is also apparent from the fact that in 1778 three chests of Japanese porcelain were confiscated by the Amsterdam Chamber: V.O.C. 186, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 5 Oct. 1778.
- 189 Chinese fish-tureens are more common, see for instance S. Roth, *op. cit.* (Note 134), fig. 36; D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 39), no. 612 and the literature mentioned there; D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 48), fig. 190. An example which is said to be Japanese is illustrated by P. C. Copeland, 'Oriental porcelain frivolities', *Chinese export porcelain, an historical survey*, ed. E. Gordon, New York 1975, fig. on p. 69.
- 190 In V.O.C. 830–831, Index of the personal matters mentioned in the resolutions of the *Hoge Regering* over the period 1731–60, Jacob Linberg is not mentioned. Nor did he ever form part of the staff of the factory in Canton. His original bill to Swellengrebel has been preserved and, with part of the service, it is illustrated and discussed by C. S. Woodward, *op. cit.* (note 23), pp. 117–121. D. F. Lunsingh-Scheurleer also reproduces this document in the catalogue *De Chinese Porseleinkast*, 1968, p. 9. The first to mention its existence was N. Ottema in *Chineesche Ceramiek*, Amsterdam 1946, 2nd revised edition, pp. 277–8. The profit raked in by Linberg can roughly be calculated. In both V.O.C. 2682 and Acquisitions of 1st Dept., 1893, 29-R are to be found lists with the average prices for various kinds of porcelain, of 1743 and 1746 respectively. A similar blue-and-white dinner service of 102 pieces was sold then for about 30 guilders. If one estimates 50% extra for the painting of the coats of arms, one arrives at 45 guilders. Linberg received from Swellengrebel 67½ taels or 297 guilders, thus gaining 252 guilders, or a book-keeper's wages for four months.
- 191 V.O.C. 4406, General Report, 12 Dec. 1770. The letter to Rijnnach was dated 29 Sept. 1769.
- 192 V.O.C. 3835, General Report, 25 Dec. 1774.
- 193 V.O.C. 4417, 24 Jan. 1772, Memorandum 2, and V.O.C. 4419, Provisional report to China Committee, 14 Jan. 1780. Van der Hoop's letters of 19 Oct. and 10 Dec. 1776 have not survived.
- 194 V.O.C. 4421, General Report, 8 Jan. 1781.
- 195 The China Committee gave permission for the shipment in a letter of 29 Oct. 1783, Arch. Canton 158. See further V.O.C. 4429, General Report, 15 Jan. 1786, no. C; V.O.C. 4433, letter to China Committee, 10 Jan. 1787, and Arch. Canton 164, letter from China Committee to supercargos, 17 Oct. 1787, in which the delivery to Meerman van der Goes is mentioned.
- 196 V.O.C. 4445, General Report, 30 Nov. 1790 and V.O.C. 4446, General Report, 19 Dec. 1791. The China Committee raised objections to this and demanded that its permission should be asked from then on, Arch. Canton 175, letter from China Committee, 18 July 1793.
- 197 A. J. Sichterman (1692–1764), who came from Groningen, rapidly carved out a career for himself in the service of the Dutch East India Company. Among the posts he held were those of director in Bengal (1731–40) and Councillor of the Indies: J. A. Feith, 'De Bengaalsche Sichterman', *Groningsche Volksalmanak* 1914, Groningen 1913, pp. 14–74.
- 198 V.O.C. 4396, letter of M. W. Hulle to China Committee, 25 Dec. 1764.
- 199 For comparable designs see D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 39), fig. 391; J. A. Lloyd Hyde, *Oriental Lowestoft*, Newport 1954, plate XV.
- 200 Exhibition catalogue *De Chinese Porseleinkast*, Amsterdam etc. 1968, no. 283.

201 For comparable designs see E. Gordon, ed., *Chinese export porcelain*, New York 1977, p. 128, fig. 6; B. L. Grandjean, *Danske Ostindiske Porcelæn*, Copenhagen 1965, fig. 96, 96A, 119.

202 See D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (note 39), Fig. 219 and the literature mentioned there.



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## Notes to Chapter IV

- 1 Municipal Archives, Haarlem, Notary E. van Bosvelt, no. 54, not. prot. fols. 14ff: inventory of Michiel van den Straten, merchant, 14–17 Feb. 1615, in which a ‘glass case with porcelain and glasses’ is mentioned. A similar ‘glass case’ is described in more detail in the documents of the notary Jan Schoudt, also in the Haarlem Archives, regist. 152, inventory of Andries de Coninck, silk merchant, 1621, which includes a reference to ‘an oaken case with various glasses and porcelain, as it ...hangs with its contents at present’. I am indebted to Mrs. M. G. A. Schipper-van Lottum of Amsterdam for these two references.
- 2 P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven/London 1978, pp. 247–52.
- 3 N. Ottema (*Chineesche Ceramiek*, Amsterdam 1946, pp. 180–4) gives a detailed survey of 17th-century North and South Netherlandish painters who depicted Chinese porcelain. See also A. I. Spriggs, ‘Oriental porcelain in Western paintings’, *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, Vol. 36 (1967), pp. 37–87.
- 4 T. Volker, *Porcelain*, pp. 59, 172 and 227.
- 5 V.O.C. 4592–4597. To be precise, 42,689,898 pieces were put up for sale between 1730 and 1789, 4,528,451 between 1730 and 1736.
- 6 It appears to be possible to say the same thing of the English East India Company: in its case too useful ware were constituted by far the greater part of the imports: G. A. Godden, *Oriental Export Market Porcelain*, London etc. 1979, pp. 18, 45–6, 55.
- 7 Comparative material in the form of price statements from other Companies is scarce. H. B. Morse (*The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635–1834*, Vol 5, Oxford 1929) mentions the prices of various kinds bought in by the English East India Company in 1755 on pp. 34–5 and the prices for ordering porcelain in 1773 on pp. 168–9. More detailed prices from the English Company’s records, in particular for the periods around 1700 and 1755–80, are cited by G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 6). Unfortunately, however, no systematic comparison is made between them and they are scattered throughout the text. See for example pp. 36, 43–4, 106, 113, 127–8, 133–8 and 166–9. J. McClure Mudge (*Chinese export porcelain for the American Trade 1785–1835*, Newark 1962, pp. 228–32) gives a very extensive price list of 1797.
- 8 The sales, held by the Marcus Galleries, took place on 21 Jan. 1972 at Cape Town and 7 April at Braamfontein. Some of the finds are illustrated by C. S. Woodward, *Oriental Ceramics at the Cape of Good Hope 1652–1795*, Cape Town/Rotterdam 1974, figs. 71–4. I am grateful to Dr. W. Schneewind, Director of the South African Cultural Museum, for the information he has supplied regarding the porcelain from the *Middelburg*.
- 9 Arch. Canton 169, ‘Comments on Porcelains’, brought by the *Delft, Meerwijk, Schagen* and *Christoffel Columbus*, 22 Dec. 1790.
- 10 V.O.C. 4543, ‘Requirements for the Porcelains for 1758’ in the China Committee’s papers for 1756. These ‘Requirements’ were not sent, see p. 103.

- 11 N. Ottema, *op. cit.* (Note 3), p. 176, thinks that even *Kraak* porcelain was still being imitated in the 18th century.
- 12 V.O.C. 172, 'Requirements for the Porcelains for 1756'.
- 13 D. S. Howard, *Chinese armorial porcelain*, London 1964, p. 38.
- 14 V.O.C. 328, letter from the *Heeren XVII* to the *Hoge Regering*, 20 Nov. 1734. See also T. Volker, *Japanese Porcelain Trade*, p. 55, note 59.
- 15 The Dutch name 'milk and blood', a decoration in underglaze iron red with muffled gold, was not used by the supercargos, who perhaps included porcelain of that kind under the Chinese Imari, if they bought it at all.
- 16 M. A. de Visser, *Toelichtende beschrijving van de verzameling ...in het Groningsch Museum*, Groningen 1930, p. 54.
- 17 Acquisitions of 1st Dept. 1914, X-13-E, sale catalogue of porcelain brought by the *Nieuw Rhoon*, sold at Middelburg on 2 Nov. 1767.
- 18 A. Jacquemart and E. le Blant, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine*, etc., Paris 1862, pp. 51 ff.
- 19 Hope Coll. No. 8471, n.d. (around 1760).
- 20 J. A. Pope and M. Brunet, *Porcelain in the Frick Collection*, New York 1974, pp. 87–91. In a more discriminative sense his hypothesis still does apply to specific pieces, especially large ornamental vases, and it merits a thorough investigation.
- 21 V.O.C. 170, Res. *Heeren XVII*, 11 Sept. 1750, 'Requirements for China', 1752.
- 22 An idea of the various types of porcelain can be gained from the illustrations in D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinese Export Porcelain. Chine de Commande*, London 1974. In cases where a given kind is not illustrated there, references are made as far as possible to literature in which an illustration is to be found.
- 23 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer (*op. cit.* (Note 22), figs. 59, 70 and 72) illustrates a few types more or less comparable to the bottles discussed here.
- 24 V.O.C. 4417, General Report, 24 Jan. 1779.
- 25 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), fig. 111.
- 26 For the giving of caudle as a custom connected with childbirth see Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer (ed.), 'Enkele oude kraamgebruiken', *Antiek*, VI (1971–2), no. 5, pp. 297–332.
- 27 Such chocolate cups were asked for as part of the extensive tea, coffee and chocolate services, e.g. in Arch. Canton 125, 'Requirements for China', 1762.
- 28 For the rise and social function of the coffeehouse see C. Roden, *Coffee*, London 1977, pp. 22–32, and E. Robinson, *The Early English Coffee House*, London 1972 (reprint of 1873 ed.).
- 29 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), p. 106–8.
- 30 Arch. Canton 129, 'Requirements for China', 1767, 6 Sept. 1765. The same list of 'Requirements' with the sketch is to be found in Arch. Canton 132, 'Requirements for China', 1768, fol. 54.
- 31 V.O.C. 4553, letter from China Committee, 1 Dec. 1786, enclosing the 'Note of the Porcelains that were requested by the merchants in Brabant and Flanders' and the drawing of the coffee pot.
- 32 By coolers are not meant the so-called Monteiths, but the type illustrated by M. Beurdeley, *Porcelaine de la Compagnie des Indes*, Fribourg 1962, cat. nos. 50, 110, 113 and 187.
- 33 W. Willets, *Chinese Art*, Harmondsworth 1958, pp. 485–6.
- 34 Volker does not mention any cuspidors among the return shipments for the Netherlands. Batavia did, however, ask in 1641 for 1,000 'tuffeltans' from Persia, which Volker equates with cuspidors without giving any reason for so doing (*Porcelain*, p. 92). Further research will need to be done into their dissemination, but it seems probable that they were introduced into Europe at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century by returning Company

- servants, who had become familiar with their use in Asia (in connection with the chewing of betel nuts?). Volker (*Japanese porcelain trade*, p. 28) does mention the presence of eight cuspidors at the factory on Deshima in 1701. G. A. Brongers (*Nicotiana Tabacum*, Groningen 1964, p. 169) gives as the earliest reference in the Netherlands a Delft inventory of 1702 in which two cuspidors are listed.
- 35 V.O.C. 7476, 'Regulations for dinner- and tea services'.
- 36 D. S. Howard (*op. cit.*, Note 13, pp. 38–9) writes that armorial services came into favour in England from around 1705 onwards, but these were probably 'dinner sets' rather than genuine composite services. The latter will have developed gradually around 1720–30, probably on the model of silver services. The Peers service, bought in Canton in 1731, is a good example of this, as is clear from the surviving bill, see J. A. Lloyd Hyde, *Oriental Lowestoft*, etc., Newport 1954 (reprint), plate XIII, fig. 36.
- 37 D. F. Lunsing Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), p. 115, fig. 157. He mentions examples in the Groningen Museum (part of the Feith service), in the Renswoude Foundation and in the Bisdom van Vliet Museum. Others are illustrated by D. Howard and J. Ayers, *China for the West*, 2 vols., London/New York 1978, no. 583; J. M. Mudge, *op. cit.* (Note 7), fig. 42 and B. L. Grandjean, *Dansk Ostindisk Porcelæn*, Copenhagen 1965, fig. 56.
- 38 Arch. Canton 129, 'Requirements for the porcelains for 1767', Sept. 1765.
- 39 Examples are illustrated by D. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 37), no. 125; B. Grandjean, *op. cit.* (Note 37), fig. 60; W. B. Honey, *Guide to the later Chinese porcelain*, London 1927, fig. 115 and O. du Sartel, *Porcelaine de la Chine*, Paris 1881, plate XXIII.
- 40 Radermacher Coll. No. 98, list of the cargo of the *Konig van Daennemarken*, which arrived in Stockholm in 1739. The so-called 'tea figures', mentioned by N. Ottema (*op. cit.* (Note 3), pp. 160–1), which are supposed to have been used to weight the tea chests, are nowhere mentioned in the documents. It is also unlikely that such large figures will have been shipped in that way, since the layer of ballast already gave the ship the weight it needed and the idea was in the 18th century to carry as much tea as possible.
- 41 G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 6), pp. 61–2, 66–8, 248–56.
- 42 *Ibidem*, pp. 266–71, 276–8.
- 43 See for *Blanc de Chine* figures in general: P. J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine*, London 1969; D. S. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 37), pp. 89–101 and the literature mentioned there; M. Beurdeley, *op. cit.* (Note 32), cat. 43–6. The well-known type of the Westerner, shown seated with one leg thrown over the other practically at right angles, is without argument considered by Beurdeley to be a portrait of 'L'Amiral Duff'.
- 44 M. Beurdeley (*op. cit.* (Note 32), pl. XI) shows a pair from the collection of M. Bissey in Paris, J. A. Lloyd Hyde (*op. cit.* (Note 31), plate XII, fig. 28) an identical set in the collection of H. F. du Pont, now in the Winterthur Museum. See also D. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 37), p. 604, no. 629.
- 45 C. S. Woodward, *op. cit.* (Note 8), fig. 71.
- 46 T. Volker, *Porcelain*, p. 19, Note 5. For the generally accepted identification he refers to *Hobson-Jobson*, *A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases and of kindred terms, etc.*, London 1903. 'Goglet, guglet' is there defined as 'a waterbottle of globular body with a long neck', but no mention is made of the characteristic spout. Among the many references that follow in *Hobson-Jobson* only one, from Van Spilbergen's *Reizen*, indicates that the word *gorgolet* was used for the same object as *kendi*, at least at the beginning of the 17th century: 'They all drank out of gorgalanes, that is out of a pot with a spout, without setting the mouth thereto'. Thus it perfectly possible that another type of porcelain was understood by the term *gorgolet* in the 18th century. For a survey of the formal development of the *kendi* see M. Sullivan, 'Kendi', *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, XI (1957), pp. 40–58.
- 47 V.O.C. 4378, Daybook of the *Leijduin*, bill of the comprador Anthony Inqua. In a similar bill for the *Voorduijn* are likewise listed '9 *gorgolets* with bowls'.
- 48 Cf. B. L. Grandjean, *op. cit.* (Note 37), fig. 95, and J. McClure Mudge, *op. cit.* (Note 7), fig. 134. These authors also call this type a *gorgolet*.
- 49 *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, The

- Hague/Leiden 1916. A saying is quoted here: 'Cheerfulness is the best herb box'.
- 50 T. Volker, *Porcelain*, p. 53, Note 14.
- 51 The Gemeente Museum in The Hague possesses an example with two herrings, B. Jansen, *Chinese keramiek*, Lochem 1976, fig. 296. The Gemeente Museum at Arnhem has a dish painted with one herring, exhibition catalogue *De Chinese porceleinkast*, 1968, fig. 238. Both examples probably formed part of the shipment of 1773 or 1776.
- 52 D. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 37), no. 42.
- 53 Porcelain is, indeed, mentioned as part of the cargo of some Dutch ships sailing to Constantinople and Smyrna. After 1765 in particular 'porc. cups', *i.e.* Moorish cups, repeatedly occur: J. G. Nanninga, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Levantschen handel*, Vol. III, R.G.P. 95, The Hague 1952, p. 706, Vol. IV, R.P.G. 120, The Hague 1966, pp. 1411, 1416–7, 1428–33, 1436–40, 1443–8 and 1532.
- 54 For a discussion of the process of tasting different kinds of tea, both at home and in the shop, see the exhibition catalogue *Thema Thee*, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam 1978, pp. 32, 45–6.
- 55 The name is derived from a bastardisation of Chinese: 'Ti' means to drip, 'pan' or 'poa' a small bowl. I am indebted to Mr. L. Blussé of Leiden for this explanation.
- 56 For this custom and the Delftware models see J. A. de Kleyn, 'Pattipans en schuitjes bij de thee', *Antiek* XV–5, 1980, pp. 153–61.
- 57 In 1732 a request was put in for 'Punchbowls, the smallest of 7 *duim* high and 14 *duim* in diameter, the medium a size larger and the largest of 8 *duim* high and 16 *duim* in diameter with straight and not overhanging rims', V.O.C. 7476, 'Requirements for porcelain', sent on the *Nieuwliet*.
- 58 Arch. Canton 129, 'Comments concerning the remarks about the article of Porcelain'. All the same, to judge from the 'Requirements' of 1767, the buyers in the Netherlands looked first at the size and only then at the decoration: 'Punchbowls, which must be of 15 and 16 *duim*, must not be sent at high prices, for only the size is paid for here and not so much the painting'.
- 59 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), p. 72, fig. 320.
- 60 The exhibition catalogue *Zout op Tafel*, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam 1976, gives a good survey of the development of the salt cellar.
- 61 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), pp. 113, 121–2.
- 62 G. A. Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 6), p. 124. See also J. de Kleyn, *op. cit.* (Note 56).
- 63 A piece of this type is illustrated by D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer (*op. cit.* (Note 22), fig. 159), who wrongly calls it a strainer. Strainers were never shipped by the Dutch East India Company, not even as part of dinner services.
- 64 It is also possible that by using these names the directors only wanted to indicate the difference between tea pots with globular bodies and those with more pear-shaped bodies. But if that is the case, it is curious that such an important difference is not mentioned in other years either in the 'Requirements' or the settlements.
- 65 V.O.C. 4423, 'Comments on Porcelains sent by the ship Voorberg' and General Report, 6 Jan. 1782.
- 66 Sook Hi Park (*Chinesisches Auftragsporzellan der Ostasiatischen Handelskompanie in Embden*, Aurich 1973, p. 37) gives 3 April 1764 as the date of the sale of a service with the royal arms of Prussia. In the *Opregte Haerlemse dingsdagse Courant* of 20 July 1756, however, there is an advertisement placed by the Emden Company, in which the sale is announced on 23 August 1756 of the cargos of *De Burcht van Embden* and *De Koning van Pruisschen*. Among the porcelain mentioned are '200 blue-and-white and Enamelled Porcelains among which various Royal Dinner Services are outstanding', Radermacher Coll. No. 495.
- 67 Cf. a tureen with an openwork crown as finial painted with the arms of Adriaan van Reede van Renswoude, to be dated c. 1755, D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), pp. 116–7, fig. 155.
- 68 See for comparable examples M. Beurdeley, *op. cit.* (Note 32), p. 90, pl. XVII and cat. nos. 99, 101–2; D. Howard and J. Ayers, *op. cit.* (Note 37), nos. 614–5, 627–8 and the literature mentioned there; G. A.

Godden, *op. cit.* (Note 6), figs. 177–8 and 180–1.

69 Arch. Canton 226, Trade Report, 4 Jan. 1765.

70 For more detailed information see C. J. A. Jörg, *Pronk Porcelain*, exhibition catalogue, Groningen Museum/Gemeente Museum The Hague, Gronin-

gen 1980, pp. 20–1, 26–8, 32–4, 36–7. The examples shipped via Batavia are, by way of exception, included in Appendix 11.

71 D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *op. cit.* (Note 22), fig. 114.

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# Credits

- Almelo, R. Kampman 68  
Amsterdam, Fotokommissie Rijksmuseum 8, 31–34, 37, 65, 66  
Amsterdam, Scheepvaartmuseum 51  
Amsterdam, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen 14, 15  
Cape Town, South African Cultural Museum 78–80  
Gothenburg, Gothenburg Historical Museum 22  
Groningen, John Leopold 10, 11, 17–19, 25, 28–30, 48, 49, 63, 69–73, 75, 76, 82, 86–88  
Groningen, John Stoel 35, 36, 38, 40  
The Hague, Gemeente Museum 61, 62, 77, 89  
The Hague, Koninklijk Huisarchief 52  
The Hague, National Archives 2, 6, 7, 9, 12, 20, 21, 41–47, 67, 84, 85  
The Hague, Iconographisch Bureau 1, 24  
Leeuwarden, Princessehof Museum 5, 26, 50, 53–60  
Leiden, University Library 4, 13  
London, Martyn Gregory Gallery 64  
London, D. Howard 39, 90  
Middelburg, Zeeuws Museum 74, 81  
New York, Ralph M. Chait Galleries 23  
Ouderkerk a/d Amstel, Tom Haartsen 83  
Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk 16  
Rotterdam, Maritiem Museum ‘Prins Hendrik’ 3  
Vienna, Bildarchiv d. Oest. Nationalbibliothek 27

# Index

- Abercromby, Arthur 329  
 Act of Commutation 40–1  
*Admiraal de Suffren* 331  
 Affu 351  
*Afrikaan* 345  
 A jou, silk embroiderer 84  
*Alblasserdam* 144, 145  
 Albuquerque, S. de 354  
 Alum 87  
 Amboina 355  
 American China trade 40, 43  
 Amie, comprador 334  
 Amoy 18, 19, 22, 91, 93, 345  
 Amoy Jos 337  
*Amphitrite* 19  
*Amsterdams bont* 161  
 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 51, 347  
 Anambas Islands 47  
 Anise 51, 86  
*Anna Catharina* 21  
 Anqua 71  
 Anson, George 42  
 Antonio, 'Deaf', silk embroiderer 84  
 Antwerp 15  
 Apo, comprador 334  
 Arabia 91  
 Armorial porcelain 142, 144, 157  
*A-Schat* 352  
 Attacq, comprador 334  
 Attay 350  
 Augustin 337  
 Augustus the Strong 148  
 Australia 323  
 Ballast 27, 51, 74, 89–90, 112, 136  
 Banda 355  
 Banka Straits 46  
 Bankshalls 49  
 Bantam 18, 19, 91  
 Basjoura 136  
 Bataafsch Genootschap, see Batavian Society  
 Batavia  
     Chinese massacre 49; Junk traffic 19–20, 26–8, 38, 136, 139; New Church 89; Opium Society 342; Porcelain for 91–2, 133, 135–40, 224; Small shop 136  
 Batavian Republic 44  
 Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences 46, 140  
 Baudoin, Antoine 349  
 Beale & Felix, firm 338  
 Beau Quiqua, see Quiqua  
 Beer tankards 161  
 Bengal 41, 83, 343, 355  
 Benthem, F. 65, 351  
 Betel nuts 76  
*Bethlehem* 99  
 Bettingh, Annaeus Lodewijk 144  
 Beukelaar, Jan de 132  
 Bills of exchange 42, 77  
 Bird's nests 32, 77  
 Bissey, M. 361  
*Blanc de Chine* 122, 175–6  
 Blant, E. le 159  
*Bleijenburg* 140  
*Bleijswijk* 357  
 Bletterman, J. H. 45  
*Blok* 330  
 Blok, Roeland 28, 328  
 Blom, Wybrand 26, 97, 347  
 Boats for spoons 184  
 Boas, Levij & Sons, firm 143  
 Bocca Tigris 47  
 Bock, Gerard de 29, 56  
 Bode, J. G. 336, 351  
 Bodenheimer-Rehrmann, A. F. Mrs. 347  
 Boohing 351  
 Borax 87  
 Boreh-boreh boxes 178  
 Bottles 95, 129, 160–2, 182, 348–9  
 Boudaen, Abraham 132  
 Bouillon cups and saucers 103, 105, 348–9  
 Bouquiqua, see Quiqua  
*Bourdaloues* 164  
 Bourse & Grymalle, firm 132  
 Bourse, Superville & Smith, firm 132  
 Bouwens, Reynier 328  
 Bowls 95, 110, 124, 128, 130, 137, 139, 154–5, 158–9, 161–3, 167, 184, 348–9, 354, 356  
 Braam, Jacob Pieter van 41  
 Braam Houckgeest, Andreas Everardus van 46, 54, 60, 64–5, 69, 72, 122, 143, 330–1, 338–40  
 Braamfontein 359  
 Brand, Fredericus Benedictus 326  
*Breslau* 40  
 Brunswick, Duke of 342  
*Burcht van Embden* 362  
 Butterdishes 95, 107, 139, 142, 163,

- 194, 348, 356  
 Butterpots 163, 185, 348  
 Buttersaucers 163, 194  
*Buuren* 21–2, 25, 347  
 Buuren, Adriaan van 22  
 Buuren, Diderik van 323  
 Buuren, Jan van 323
- Calkoen, Jan 328  
 Candlesticks 63, 163–4  
 Canes 141  
 Canton  
   Costs of living 121; Costs of trading and stay 25, 32, 207–10;  
   Daily life of the supercargos 61–5;  
   Descriptions of 46, 54; Dutch consulate 45; Factories, *q.v.*;  
   Foodstuffs 61–2, 121, 336; Imports of Batavian merchandise 76–7;  
   Imports of Dutch merchandise 74–6; Jurisdiction 49;  
   Porcelain shops 113–6, 126–7;  
   Workplaces for decorating porcelain 126; Trade, see China trade  
 Cape of Good Hope 16, 26, 136, 355  
 Cape Town, South African Cultural Museum 152, 176  
 Caribbean 93, 132, 182  
 Carletti, Francesco 17  
 Catalogues of porcelain sales 130–1, 141–2, 172  
*Catharina Wilhelmina* 331  
 Caudle cups and saucers 106, 130, 164, 194  
 Caudle pots 349  
 Cavendish, Thomas 320  
 Celadon 102, 183–4  
 Certon, Jacob Paulus 108, 351  
 Ceylon 355  
 Chamberpots 63, 164, 348  
 Chandeliers, copper 89  
 Chao Kuan 67  
 Charles VI of Habsburg 20–1  
 Chemqua 58  
 Cheng Ch'eng-kung, see Coxinga  
 Chetqua 70–1, 114, 118, 338–9  
 Ch'ien-lung 72, 124, 337  
 Chimney-piece sets, see Cupboard garnitures  
 China Committee 34–5  
 China Root 85–6  
 China Sea 49, 51  
 China Street, Canton 51  
 China trade  
   Former research 12–3; Trade before 1729 15–9; Organisation direct trade 1729–34 21–2, 25–6;  
   Finances and profits *idem* 23–5, 207–8, 212, 216; Organisation Batavian trade 1735–56, 26–8;  
   Finances and profits *idem* 28, 30–4, 209–10, 212, 216; Organisation direct trade 1756–94, 34–5, 37–8;  
   Finances and profits *idem* 43–4, 211–4, 216; China Committee 34–5;  
   Costs in Canton 25, 32, 207–10; Management in Canton 73–4; Administration in Canton 73–4;  
   off-season trade 56, 113, 116.  
*Chine de Commande*, former research 11–2  
*Chine de Commande*, motifs 99–102, 108, 132, 142, 144, 146, 154–5, 157, 159–61, 171, 182, 189  
 Chinese  
   Books 46; Labourers 62, 335; Language, study of 72; Merchants, see Hong merchants;  
   Paintings, gouaches etc. 56, 63, 80, 114, 122, 127, 175; Products for Europe 16th–17th centuries 15  
 Chinaware, Tan 113, 337  
 Ch'ing-tè Chen 91–2, 113, 122–6, 157–8, 164, 170  
 Chinqua, see Sinqua  
 Chitai 340  
 Chocolate cups and saucers 95, 103, 106, 121, 158–61, 164, 167, 348  
 Chocolate pots 164–5, 188  
 Chocolate services, see Tea services  
 Chowqua, see Tsjoqua  
*Christoffel Columbus* 155, 359  
 Chusan 67  
 Cinnabar 87  
 Clockmakers 338  
 Clocks 22, 68, 73  
 Cloth 22, 25, 32, 34, 74–6, 329  
 Cloves 32, 38, 76  
 Co Hong 64, 66–7, 115, 118, 121  
 Coarse porcelain 91–2, 124, 128, 139–40  
 Cochin China 76, 91  
 Cochineal 76  
 Coffee cups and saucers 102–3, 106, 108, 110, 115, 124, 128–30, 136, 142, 154–5, 157–60, 165–7, 348, 354–6  
 Coffee pots 107, 110, 142, 158, 166, 349, 354  
 Coffee services see Tea services  
 Coffeehouse cups and saucers 105, 166  
 Collocation of Sales 33, 44, 92, 133, 137, 141, 324  
 Companies, early Dutch 16  
 Compilation of Sales 131, 141  
 Comprador 49–50, 62, 334  
*Comtesse du Nord* 40  
 Coninck, Andries de 359  
 Conjac, dealer 118–9, 124, 351  
 Conqua 84, 350  
 Constantinople 362  
 Consulate, Dutch 45  
 Cook, James 42  
 Coolers 96–7, 107, 155, 168  
 Copper 32, 50, 89  
 Coromandel 35, 41, 355  
 Cotton 30, 41  
 Cotton textiles 141  
 Cotton thread 32, 76  
 Country trade 30, 77  
*Coxhorn* 21–5, 94, 343, 347  
 Coxinga 17–8, 91  
 Cream dishes 168, 178  
 Cream jugs 102  
 Criminal behaviour 49–50  
*Crooswijk* 137  
 Cruets 107, 168  
 Cupboard garnitures 95, 98, 103, 105, 129, 143, 159–60, 169, 194, 348–9  
 Cuspidors 63, 95, 105, 107, 121, 130, 169–70, 348, 354
- Dadeley* 39  
 Dam, Pieter van 15  
 Danes Island 49  
 Danish Company 23, 116, 162, 175, 194  
 Decima 45–6, 91–3, 98, 361  
 Decker, Matthew 324  
 Decorations  
   Cold painted 127–8, 176; Costs of special 128, 146, 160; Done at Canton 126–8; Fashionable 108–



- 11, 126, 128, 151, 159
- Decorations, types and varieties (motifs *q.v.*)
- Batavian brown 158; *Blanc sur blanc* 160; Blue and white 125–6, 156–7; Brown 158; *Café au lait* 158; Capuchin 158; Chinese Imari 125–6, 157; Enamelled 125–6, 158–60; *Encre de Chine* 126, 142, 159–60, 189; *Famille jaune* 95, 117, 159, 166, 183–4; *Famille noire* 159–60, 189; *Famille rose* 159; *Famille verte* 159, 165; Marbled 158–9, 172; Milk and Blood 360; Nanking yellow 158; Powder blue 160, 169; Undecorated 126, 161.
- Delft 142
- Delft* 359
- Delft models for porcelain 96–8, 108, 163, 175–6, 179, 183, 347
- Desertion 50
- Deshima, see Decima
- Dessert services 173, 354
- Dickinson, Thomas 338
- Dinner plates 63, 102–3, 105, 110, 120–1, 137, 139, 155, 170, 348, 354–6
- Dinner services 96, 98, 103, 108, 111, 116–7, 125, 129–30, 139, 142, 149, 155, 159–60, 170–4, 348, 355
- Dirck China 321
- Diseases 63–4
- Dishes 95, 115, 117, 124, 128–30, 136, 139, 167, 174, 356
- Dodds brothers 152
- Doll's houses 162, 187
- Doll's tea cups and saucers 187, 194
- Dozij, Roelof Jacob 44
- Drawings for porcelain 97–8, 102–8, 111, 123, 127, 152, 167
- Dresden Palace 148
- Drugs 16, 30, 51, 74, 85–7, 320
- Duijffe* 23, 25, 29, 347
- Dussen, Arend van 348
- Dustpearls 32, 76
- Dutch East India Company
- Internal organisation 16; Advocates 15–6, 21, 29, 327–8, 348; Principal Shareholders 16, 30–1, 34; Amsterdam Chamber 16, 21–4, 26, 34; Zeeland Chamber 16–7, 21–2, 167; Rotterdam Chamber 16, 22; Delft Chamber 16; Hoorn Chamber 16, Enkhuizen Chamber 16; Haagsch Besogne 16, 30–1, 34, 209; China Committee 34–5; Salaries personnel 22, 25, 35; China trade before 1729 15–9; China trade after 1729 *q.v.*; Trade with Japan 17–8, 91–3, Trade with Surat 30; Proceeds on sales (general) 215–6; Tea trade, *q.v.*; Porcelain trade, *q.v.*
- Dutch Folly 56
- Duyvendak, J. J. L. 72
- Egg cups and spoons 102
- Eisen*, see Requirements
- Elin, Jan 64, 143
- Elst, van der & Goethals, firm 132
- Emanuel 337
- Embden Company 29, 37, 189
- Empereur du Roij* 40
- Empress of China* 40
- Emtinck, Simon 327
- Enamelled copperwork 88–9
- Encre de Chine* 126, 142, 159–60, 189
- English earthenware 107, 112, 125, 163, 170, 173, 180, 185, 188, 194
- English East India Company 19–20, 23, 39–41, 43; porcelain trade 125, 175, 194
- English models for porcelain 107, 163, 170, 173, 180, 185, 188
- English trade Companies 19
- Entrecolles, *père d'* 122
- Erfprins* 357
- Ewers and basins 96, 107, 130, 174–5, 178
- Exhin 118–9, 350–2
- Eymbeek, François Hélène 63, 354
- Fabre, Catharina Louisa le 336
- Factory
- Building 54–61; Costs of renting 56, 58–9; Furniture and inventories 56, 58, 205–6, 335; Military guard 62
- Familles*, see decorations
- Fans 67, 87–8
- Fazakerley, W. 23
- Feith, Gijsbert Jan 172
- Felix 337
- Fiador 66–7, 74, 113
- Fiers, Gerrit 22
- Figures 142, 175–6, 348, 361
- Financial documents
- Collocation of Sales 33, 44, 92, 133, 137, 141, 207–8, 211–3, 221–2, 224, 324; Compilation of Sales 131, 141; Daybooks & Ledgers Amsterdam Chamber 23–4, 29, 207; Documents Canton factory 24, 32–3, 38, 43, 77, 207–24; Domestic account books Canton 61, 74; General Statements 33, 43–4, 92, 133, 140, 207–8, 211–3, 215–6, 221–3, 324; Rendement lists 43, 211–3.
- Fish bowls 122, 176–7
- Fish dishes 105, 110, 124–5, 155, 176–7, 348–9
- Fish plates, see Fish dishes
- Fish strainer plates 125, 177
- Flint 77
- Flint, James 67, 72
- Flowerpots 96, 142, 177
- Flower vases 161, 169
- Fo Shan 84
- Foetia 338
- Fon, Catharina Magdalena la 336
- Foochow 18
- Foodstuffs in Canton 61–2, 121, 336
- Formosa 17–9, 42, 66, 91–2
- Fotia, see Foetia
- Fountains with basins, see Vases with basins
- Fouquet, Pieter Jonasz. 347
- Fraudulent practices 23, 28, 69, 117
- Frederick the Great 29, 190
- Freemasonry 63
- Freight traffic
- Porcelain 28, 93, 133, 138, 140–1; Tea 28–9, 81
- French Company 19
- Femch Folly 56
- Frenchman's Island 49, 64
- Freriks, Hermanus 336
- Fruit baskets 117, 129, 159, 177–8; Fruit dishes, see Fruit baskets
- Fukien province 122
- Fur trade 344
- Galan 354
- Galbert, J. C. F. 72

- Galingale 86  
 Gamron 355  
 Geequa, see Giqua  
 Gelder, H. E. van 11–2, 91, 94  
*Geldermalsen* 183  
 Gendis, see Kendis  
 General Reports 74  
 General Statements 33, 43–4, 92, 133, 140, 207–8, 211–3, 215–6, 221–2, 324  
 Germany 93, 132  
 Gerven, Abraham van 143  
*Getrouwigheid* 334, 349  
 Gietermaker, C. H. 334  
 Gijsman, Pieter 336  
 Giqua, ‘Conscientia’ 113, 338, 351  
 Glamann, K. 12, 23, 33  
 Glass panes 77  
*Goede Hoop* 39  
*Goude Trouw* 345  
 Gold 38, 50, 87, 123  
 Gorgolets 63, 178  
 Gothenburg Historical Museum 70  
 Gowqua 337  
 Goyer, Pieter de 18  
 Graae, Michael 35  
 Graaf, Adriaan Sebastiaan van de 330  
 Grammont, *père* 340  
 Gravel 51, 112  
*Gravesande* 357  
 Groningen 357  
 Groningen Museum 96, 145  
 Groot, Hugo de 321  
 Gum 30  
  
 Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum 156  
 Hague, the, Algemeen Rijksarchief 13  
 Gemeentemuseum 122  
 Hakluyt, Richard 321  
 Hampton Court 148  
 Handles for knives and forks 178, 348  
 Hapwa 351  
 Hartman, Nicolaas 29, 207  
 Hazebomme, van Citters & Catteau, firm 132  
 Heijchong 351  
 Heijden, J. W. D. van der 143  
 Heijligendorp, Cornelis 64  
 Hemmingson, Ulrich Gualtherus 143, 331, 350  
 Herb boxes 178–9  
 Herring dishes 102–3, 179–80  
 Heureux, Antonie François de l’ 134  
 Hickey, William 353  
 Hirado 17  
 Hoeven, Jan van der 35  
 Hog Lane, Canton 51  
 Honan, Canton 65  
 Honan province 352  
*Honcoop* 143  
 Hong merchants 66–71, 113–8, 339–40, 350–1  
 Hong, firms  
   Feng Yuan 340; Juun Suun 340; Quon-chong 339; Tai Huo (Tywo) 339; Tong Foo 339; Wan Huo 340; Yi Feng (I Phong) 69  
 Honqua, Tan 58, 69  
 Honqua, Tsja 69–71, 114, 117–8, 337–8, 350  
 Hoop, Cornelis van der 143, 328  
 Hoorn, Pieter van 18  
 Hoorn, wallpaper factory 88  
 Hope, Thomas 29, 31–2, 34, 328–9  
 Hoppo 50, 67, 71  
 Houqua 351  
 Houtman, Cornelis 16  
 Howard, David 157  
 Huijen, Joost van 132  
*Huijs te Spijk* 98  
*Huijs ten Donk* 357  
 Hulle, Martin Wilhelm 116, 129, 143  
 Hullu, J. de 11–2, 94, 98  
  
 Ice pots 168  
 Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem van 28, 30, 343  
 India 91, 182  
 Indian goods 15  
 Indigo 22, 76  
 Ink, Chinese 87  
 Inksja 59–60, 71, 117, 339, 351  
 Inqua, Anthony 361  
 Interior decoration with porcelain 148–9  
 Interpreters 50, 62, 71–2  
 Ireland 93  
 Iron 51, 89  
 Italy 93, 132  
  
 Ivory 67, 77  
  
 Jacobs, Roelof 336  
 Jacquemart, A. 159  
 Japan, Dutch trade with 17–8, 91–3  
 Japanese porcelain 91–3, 107, 142, 157, 165, 189  
 Java 19, 21, 355  
 Jenyns, Soame 122  
 Jesuit porcelain 132, 146  
 Jinqa, see Tinqa  
 Johannesburg, Africana Museum 91  
*Jonge Thomas* 345  
 Jongh, Joan de 21, 23  
 Jongsin See Zuan 54  
 Jonqua 337  
 Jouqua 351  
 Junk traffic on Batavia 19–20, 26–8, 38, 136, 139  
  
 Kambang trade 93  
 Kapok 76  
 Kareek 136  
 Karnebeek, Egbert van 63  
 Kendis 178  
 Keulen, Johan van 331  
 Keyes, H. E. 11  
 Keyser, Jacob de 18  
 Kiangsi province 91, 122  
 Kings merchants 66  
 Kinqa, ‘shy’ 68, 340  
 Kintsius, Pieter 64, 143  
 Kiouqua 71, 340  
 Kiqua, ‘young’ 337  
*Klapmutsen* 180, 183  
 Klerk-de Reus, G. C. 215, 332  
 Klinkert, Hendrik 143  
*Knappenboff* 26, 325  
*Koning van Daennemarken* 361  
*Koning van Pruisschen* 29, 362  
 Konqua 351  
 Kooqua 339  
 Koutia, see Quonnak  
*Kroonenburg* 352  
  
 Labin 113, 337, 350  
 Lacquerwork 15, 51, 63, 67, 88, 131  
 Ladrone 47  
*Lam* 345  
 Lead 22, 27, 34, 74, 89  
 Leake-Okeover dinner service 103

- Leenders, Roelant 132  
 Leeuwarden  
     Frisian Museum 144: Princesse-  
     hof Museum 122, 355  
 Leiden  
     Textile industry 76;  
     University 46  
*Leijduin* 24–5, 56, 335, 361  
 Leunqua 337  
 Levant Trade Company 180, 182  
 Levij, Isaac 132  
 Liège serge 22  
 Limpo, see Ningpo  
 Linberg, Jacob 143  
 Linqua 66  
 Linschoten, Jan Huygen van 321  
 Lionqua 350  
 Lisbon 15  
 Lisjoncon 114, 118, 140, 350–1  
 Lloyd Hyde, J. A. 11  
 Locqua, see Tsjoqua  
 Loofs, Abraham 328  
 Loosdrecht factory 111  
 Ludicq, Carel van 30  
  
 Macao 14, 17, 20, 47, 64, 91, 93,  
     139  
 Macartney, Lord George 72  
 Macassar 355  
*Macclesfield* 19  
 Madagascar 51  
*Magdalena* 98, 137  
 Malacca 17, 330, 355  
 Malacca canes 27  
 Maneil, see Emanuel  
 Manilla 17  
 Marathas 343  
 Marks on porcelain 154–5, 162  
 Marot, Daniel 148  
 Marre, Jan de 331  
 Mathias, Johan Constantin 328  
 Maurice, Stadholder 16  
 Mechanical devices 22, 68, 73  
 Medicaments on the ships 38  
 Meerman van der Goes, Advocate  
     143  
*Meerwijk* 359  
 Meezenberg, Gottlieb Wilhelm 351  
 Meiling Pass 122  
 Meissen porcelain 156  
 Melander, Johannes Arend de 65,  
     145  
 Mercury 87  
 Mesopotamia 136  
 Meyers, Aletta Hillegonda 144  
 Middelburg 130–2, 159  
*Middelburg* 39, 152, 176  
 Middelburg, Zeeland Museum 145,  
     152  
 Middle East 132  
 Milk bowls, see milk cups  
 Milk cups 180, 348  
 Milk jugs 95, 105, 107, 121, 158,  
     160, 180, 348  
 Mirrors 22, 73, 339  
 Models for porcelain 94–112,  
     114–5, 123, 127, 143, 163, 167,  
     170, 173–6, 179–80, 183, 185,  
     188, 347  
 Moluccas 86  
 Monqua 68, 71, 338, 340  
 Monsoons 53  
 Monteiths 360  
 Moor, Jan de 132  
 Moorish cups 132, 158, 160, 180–1,  
     194, 349, 354  
 Morocco 182  
 Mossel, Jacob 30–1  
 Mother-of-pearl 87  
 Motifs (decorations *q.v.*)  
     ‘*Actie*’ plates 146; *Amsterdams*  
     *bont* 161; Arbour 99, 192; Armo-  
     rial 142, 144, 157; Basket of fruit  
     108; Cherry picker 108, 134, 161;  
     *Chine de Commande, q.v.*; Chinese  
     characters 154–5, 162; Chinese  
     motifs 115, 154–6; Cuckoo 155,  
     Doctors 99, 190; Dragons 154,  
     158, 160, 162, 165, 186; Europe-  
     an style, see *Chine de Com-*  
     *mande*; Factories 108, 128, 182;  
     Flowerpot 155; Handwashing 99;  
     Haystack 155; Joss on horseback  
     156; Manufacture of porcelain  
     108; Marseille pattern 160; Myth-  
     ological subjects 108, 132, 160,  
     189; Neptune 108, 161; Oranges  
     108, 158; Pagoda 155; Parasol  
     ladies 99–100, 190; Pattern plates  
     127; Peacock 155; Pineapple 155;  
     Portraits 71, 142, 146, 189; Reli-  
     gious subjects 108, 132, 146, 161;  
     Small boys playing (‘Fools’) 155,  
     186; Sunflower 155, 166; Tea  
     packing 108; Waterflower 155;  
     Whampoa 128, 146, 182  
 Mottahedeh collection 99  
 Moulds for porcelain 102, 114  
 Mowqua 340  
 Mugs 161, 181  
 Muller, H. P. N. 12  
  
 Nagasaki, see Decima  
 Namqua 351  
 Nan-Chang 122  
 Nankeen china 123  
 Nankeens 51, 74, 83, 123  
 Nanking 18, 76, 117, 122–5  
 Nanking merchants 68–9  
 Nanling Mountains 122  
 Nebbens, Johannes 336  
 Neck, Jacob van 16  
 Nederburgh, S. C. 65  
 Nederveen, Jeremias van 132  
 Netherlands Trading Company 45  
 Nieuhof, Joan 321, 352  
*Nieuwliet* 21–2, 94–5, 132, 171, 362  
*Nieuw Rhoon* 131, 142  
 Ningpo 67, 93, 345  
 Nishida, Hiroko 93  
*Noordwolfsbergen* 26, 324  
 Nutmeg 38, 76  
 Nymphenburg 173  
  
 Off-season trade at Canton 56, 113,  
     116  
 Oil and vinegar sets, see cruets  
 Oldenbarnevelt, Johan van 16  
 Onqua 337–8  
*Ooster Eem* 40  
 Opium 41, 50, 77  
 Opium Society at Batavia 342  
 Ostend Company 20–1, 23  
*Ouder Amstel* 51  
 Oudérmeulen, Cornelis van 12,  
     40–1, 332  
 Overweight of the ships 51  
  
*Paerl* 329  
 Paets, Vincent 18  
 Paintings, gouaches etc, Chinese  
     56, 63, 80, 114, 122, 127, 175  
 Palembang, Sultan of 41  
*Pallas* 330  
 Panton, captain 340  
 Paracelus Islands 47

- Patani 18, 91, 93  
 Pattern plates 127  
 Pattipans 181, 184, 188  
 Pearl River 47, 56  
 Peers dinner service 361  
 Pehoe Island 17  
 Peking 18, 46, 67, 72, 75, 122  
 Pepper 32, 38, 68, 76  
 Permitted chests 22, 26–8, 35, 84  
 Persia 91, 136, 360  
 Petuntse 112  
 Philippines 68  
 Phillips, Harry 357  
 Pierens, Antonio 329  
 Pierre, 'Petit', 338  
 Pieters, Cornelis 331  
 Pin trays 102  
 Pinqua 61, 68, 71, 114, 118–9, 351  
 Pitt, William 40  
*Plats de menages*, see cruets  
 Poankeequa 68, 70–1, 338  
 Poankeequa II 340  
 Poeyqua 340  
 Ponce, Nicolas 349  
 Ponqua 340  
 Pont, H. F. du 361  
 Pontonchong 351  
 Pooqua 351  
 Poot, Jacob 49  
 Pope, J. A. 160  
 Porcelain, porcelain trade general  
   For Europe before 1600 15;  
   V.O.C. trade before 1729 91–4;  
   Trade on Japan 91–3; Private  
   trade 28, 93, 97, 100, 108, 117,  
   128, 131, 138, 140–3, 159, 347;  
   On freight 28, 93, 133, 138,  
   140–1; Permitted porcelain 27,  
   93, 140–1, 189; For private in-  
   dividuals 140–6; For Batavia 91–  
   2, 133, 135–40, 224; Via Bata-  
   via for the Netherlands 151, 190;  
   English imports into the Nether-  
   lands 93; E.I.C. trade 125, 175,  
   194; Smuggling 28, 92, 143  
 Porcelain, orders  
   *Eisen*, see requirements; Require-  
   ments 94–113, 151, 155–6, 348;  
   Models and samples 94–112, 114,  
   123, 127, 143, 167, 173–4, 347;  
   Chests with samples from the  
   Netherlands 95, 102, 347; Delft  
   models 96–8, 108, 163, 175–6, 179,  
   183, 347; English models 107,  
   163, 170, 173, 180, 185, 188;  
   Wooden models 102, 115; Draw-  
   ings 97–8, 102–8, 111, 123, 127,  
   152, 167  
 Porcelain, buying-in and production  
   Placing of orders 97, 113–4; Chi-  
   nese dealers 113–8, 350–1; Shops  
   in Canton 113–6, 126–7; Con-  
   tracts 114–5; Production and fac-  
   tories 114, 117, 122, 124–5, 173;  
   Transport 122; Decorations, *q.v.*;  
   Costs of special decorations 128,  
   146, 160; Decorations done at  
   Canton 126–8; Purchase prices  
   119–22, 126, 152, 217–20, 355–7;  
   Dues and taxes 113, 115–8, 124,  
   166; Unpacking books 130, 151;  
   Stowage 51, 113, 128–30; Chests  
   51, 129–30; Ballast 112, 136;  
   Breakage 113, 129, 131, 137, 140,  
   173, 182, 186  
 Porcelain, sales in the Netherlands  
   Sales 130–4; Sale catalogues  
   130–1, 141–2; Buyers 131–3; Pro-  
   ceeds and profits 119–20, 129,  
   133–4, 137, 152, 221–4, 355  
 Porcelain cabinets 148  
 Porcelain clay 111–2  
 Porcelain painter 127  
 Portuguese trade 15–7  
*Potsdam* 40  
 Poulo Condoor 47  
 Poulo Pinang 330  
 Poyang, Lake 122, 352  
 Pragmatic Sanction 21  
 Precht, Christian 103  
 Prices of merchandise  
   Alum 344; Borax; 344; Chinese  
   ink 344; Cinnabar 344; Cloth 75;  
   Copper 345; Foodstuffs 336; Mer-  
   cury 344; Mother-of-pearl 344;  
   Nankeens 343; Pepper 342; Por-  
   celain, *q.v.*; Raw silk 217–20, 343;  
   Silk textiles 85, 343; Spelter 345;  
   Tea 79, 81, 217–20, 324, 326;  
   Tin 341, 345  
 Private trade  
   General 18, 22–3, 26–8, 35, 38–9,  
   42–3, 50, 84; Porcelain 28, 93,  
   97, 100, 108, 117, 128, 131, 138,  
   140–3, 159, 347; Silk textiles 35,  
   84; Tea 28–9, 41, 43  
 Privy pots 181  
 Profits on porcelain 119–20, 129,  
   133–4, 137, 152, 221–4, 355  
 Pronk, Cornelis 11, 94, 98–103, 171,  
   190–1  
 Prussian blue 354  
 Prussian Company, see Embden  
   Company  
 Prussian Society for Overseas Trade  
   40  
 Puiqua 340  
 Punch bowls 63, 125–6, 128–30,  
   132, 158, 160–2, 181–2, 349,  
   354–5  
 Punch kettles 181  
 Punch ladles 182  
 Punishments 49–50  
 Putchuk 77  
  
 Quantaay 89  
 Quayqua, Manuel 113  
 Quemoy 18  
 Quinqua, porcelain painter 127  
 Quintang 46  
 Quiqua, 'Beau' 65, 337–8  
 Quonchong 351  
 Quonnak 139, 351  
  
 Raap, Martha 132  
 Rabinel, J. H. 45  
 Radermacher, J. M. C. 331  
 Radermacher, Samuel 35–6, 107,  
   132, 328  
 Raisins 77  
 Rattan 51, 89  
 Reede van Renswoude, A. van 362  
*Rendement* lists 43  
 Requirements 94–113, 151, 155–6,  
   348  
 Rhubarb 86  
 Ribault, Caspar and Paulus, firm  
   132  
 Rice cups 139, 166  
 Rice platters 356  
 Rijnnach, Jan Hendrik 143  
 Rijzik, Jacob 146  
*Ritthem* 357  
 Roberts, Gaijlard 64  
 Robin, see Labin  
 Roemer, Frederik Christiaan 68,

- 326, 329  
*Rolwagens* 95  
 Rooy, Carel de 336  
*Roosenburg* 179  
 Rosewater 32  
 Rosewater bottles 182–3, 348, 355  
 Roth, Edmond 38  
 Roth, Johan de 356  
 Rowqua 337  
 Royal Society of London 333  
 Russia 86
- Sago 51, 86, 129  
 Salad bowls 107, 117, 130, 155, 183, 348–9, 355  
 Salaries, see wages  
 Saldanha Bay 39, 143, 152  
 Salt cellars 159, 183  
*San Catharina* 17  
*San Jago* 17  
 Sandalwood 76  
 Sappanwood 90  
 Sauce boats 103, 117, 183–4, 349  
*Schagen* 359  
*Scheijbeek* 99  
*Schelde* 142  
 Schoft, Lambertus 132  
 Schooneman, Christiaan 146  
*Schuitjes* 184  
 Securier, Paulus Hendrik 132  
 Semqua 70, 114, 338  
 Senchong 351  
 Serpent Island 47  
 Serving dishes 174, 184  
 Seunqua, see Tsjonqua  
 Sèvres porcelain 156  
 Seyqua 113, 337  
 Shaving bowls 103, 184, 348, 355  
 Ships  
   Costs of fitting out 23–5, 32, 207–8; Desertion 50; Homeward voyage 53; Improvements in building 42; Insurance 330; Life on board 49–50; ‘Measuring’ 50; Medicaments 38; Names 195–201; Overweight 51; Stowage 51, 113, 128–30;  
 Sichterman, A. J. 143  
 Silk embroiderers 84  
 Silk industry in the Netherlands 84–5  
 Silk, raw 28, 51, 68, 74, 83, 123, 320
- Silk textiles  
   General 15, 19–20, 27–8, 30, 35, 50–1, 74, 83–5, 133, 320; Decorations 84, 122; Prices 85, 343; Private trade 35, 84; Production 84; Profits 85; Samples 83; Varieties 84  
 Sille, Anthony de 330  
 Silver 22–4, 27, 32–3, 35, 42, 74, 329  
 Simon 337, 350  
 Siqua 337, 350–1  
 Slaves 63  
*Slooten* 34, 84, 103, 144, 324, 334  
 Slop bowls 102, 121, 124, 154–5, 158, 160–2, 348, 354  
 Smit, Abraham & Johannes de, firm 132  
 Smuggling 18, 22, 26, 28–9, 35, 39–41, 50, 77, 84, 92, 143  
 Smyrna 362  
 Soequa, ‘old’ 113–4, 118, 337–9  
 Soft-paste porcelain 157  
 Soiqua, ‘Pinkje’ 337  
 Son, van, Advocate 327  
*Sorghwijck* 324  
 Soup bowls 105; 185, 189, 349, 356  
 Soup cups 159, 184  
 Soup plates 139, 155, 160, 185, 356  
 Sout-Sout-Ham 47  
 Soychong 119, 351  
*Spaarzaamheid* 34  
 Spanish dogs 73  
*Sparenrijk* 330  
 Spelter 27, 51, 74, 89, 112  
 Spices 15, 27, 30, 32, 35, 38, 76, 115  
 Spieringshoek, Director van der 348  
 Spilbergen, J. van  
 St. Helena 17  
 Stapel, F. W. 44  
 States General 20, 40  
 Steeger, Johan Christiaan 351  
 Steijn, Elbert Lucas 351  
 Still-life paintings 148–9  
 Stockholm 70, 361  
 Strainers 348, 362  
 Straits of Canton 47  
 Straten, Michiel van 359  
 Straw hats 38  
 Strawberry bowls 102, 107, 110, 185  
 Suchin, silk weaver 84
- Suchin Chinqua 117–9, 124, 351  
 Suequa 338  
 Sugar 30, 32, 129  
 Sugar bowls 158, 163, 185, 348  
 Sugar pots, see Sugar bowls  
*Suïderburgh* 142, 340  
 Suiqua, ‘Lofty’ 58–9, 338  
 Sumatra 86, 355  
 Sunda Straits 53  
 Supercargos  
   Daily life in Canton 61–5; Inventories of private properties 63; *Liaisons* and marriages 64–5; Names 202–4; Wages 22, 25, 35  
 Suqua 337  
 Surat 28, 30, 39, 91, 136–7, 139, 183  
 Surat, Batavian trade on 30  
 Swedish Company 23, 103, 116, 162, 194  
 Sweerts, Willem 22, 323  
 Swellengrebel, Hendrik 143  
 Swetsia 70–1, 114, 338  
 Synchong 119
- Tackqua 340  
 Tael  
   Conversion rates 24–5, 32, 329, 352; Weight 324–5  
 Tamarind 27  
 Tan-, see under second name  
 Tankards, see Beer tankards  
 Tartary 76, 339  
 Tauqua 351  
 Taxes in Canton 113, 115–8, 124, 166  
 Taxion 351  
 Tea  
   Tea trade V.O.C. 19–21, 23, 28–9, 34, 39, 40–3, 77; Tea on freight 28–9, 81; Permitted tea 28; Tea trade E.I.C. 19, 39–43; Tea trade Ostend Company 20; Private trade 28–9, 41, 43; Smuggling 28–9; Buying-in 77–81; Chinese merchants 68, 78; Tea tasters 30, 78, Samples 78; Varieties 42, 78–81; Packing and stowage 51, 78; Purchase prices 79, 81, 217–20, 324, 326; Profits 81; Plantations on Java 21  
 Tea caddies 95, 144, 185–6

- Tea cups and saucers 102–3, 106, 121, 124, 128–9, 132, 137, 142, 154–5, 158–60, 165, 186–7, 348
- Tea pots 95, 105, 107, 120, 129, 158, 187–8, 348
- Tea services 63, 98, 111, 129, 142, 157–61, 188–9, 348, 353–4
- Tè-hua 122, 175–6
- Temminck, Ernst Louis 326
- Tequa, see Tyqua
- Ternate 355
- Teunqua, see Onqua
- Texel 25
- Texia 337–8
- Texier, J. 40
- Textile factories in Europe 76, 83
- Teyqua 114, 337
- Thayqua 70–1
- Thirteen Hongs 66
- Tiger Island 47
- Tin 27, 32, 34, 41, 51, 74, 76, 89, 112
- Tinqua, 'old' 69, 71, 113–4, 118, 337–8
- Tiqua 84, 113
- Titsing, G. 103
- Titsingh, Isaac 65, 72
- Tiuqua, see Toqua
- Tjobqua 59–60
- Tongfong 351
- Tongking 19, 91, 93
- Tonhang 351
- Tonqua, see Onqua
- Toqua 337
- Toussain, Reinier 28, 328
- Treaty of Paris 40
- Tros, Willem 65, 111, 351
- Tsja-, see under second name
- Tsjonqua 71
- Tsjoqua 71, 338, 340, 350
- Tsjouqua 338–9
- Tucksia 337
- Tuffeltans* 360
- Tureens 117, 124, 130, 139, 142–3, 167, 185, 189–90, 354–6
- Turkey 180
- Turkish cups, see Moorish cups
- Turmeric 86
- Tutenag, see Spelter
- Tyqua 337
- Tzykinqua, see Kinqa
- Undecorated porcelain 126, 161
- United States of America 93, 182
- Vanitas symbolism 149
- Vasco da Gama* 145
- Vases and beakers, see Cupboard garnitures
- Vases with basins 96, 98–9, 110, 130, 190–1
- Velsen* 107, 349, 352
- Venus* 330
- Verleij, Pieter 325
- Vermilion 87, 354
- Verwachting* 327
- Vietnam, see Tongking
- Vigne, Malechias de la 132
- Vlissingen 152
- V.O.C., see Dutch East India Company
- Volker, T. 11–2, 91–4, 98, 149, 347
- Vomit pots 348
- Voorduijn* 22, 24–5, 56, 355, 361
- Vosschenbosch* 323
- Voûte & Sons, J. J., firm 41, 43
- Vreeburg* 357
- Vries, I.G.A.N. de 11, 94
- Vrijburg* 145
- Wages
- Chinese labourers 336; Supercargos 22, 25, 35
- Walking-stick handles 348
- Walle, Hendrik van de 132
- Wallpaper factory, Hoorn 88
- Wallpapers 67, 88
- Wan-li 66
- Wendt, Eyso de 28, 328, 356
- Westerveen, Abraham 324, 348
- Westervelt* 88, 130, 142
- Westpalm, A. 325
- Whampoa 47, 64
- Wilhelmina, Princess Frederica Louisa 112
- Wilhem, David de 328
- William IV, Stadholder 29–31, 34, 207
- William V, Stadholder 342, 345
- Winchong 351
- Winter-van der Poorten, Mrs. 143
- Witt, Jan de 325
- Woestduijn* 152
- Wonsamye, see Semqua
- Wooden models for porcelain 102, 115
- Woods 27, 32, 76, 90
- Xin Zhu 67
- Yanqua 340
- Yeckhing 118–9, 125
- Yongtiye, see Suiqua
- Ypenroode* 26
- Yungshaw, see Inksja
- Zeeman, B. 45
- Zinc 89
- Zuijd Beveland* 38